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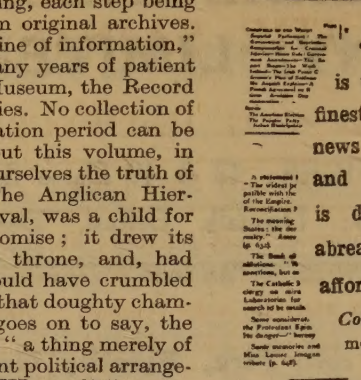

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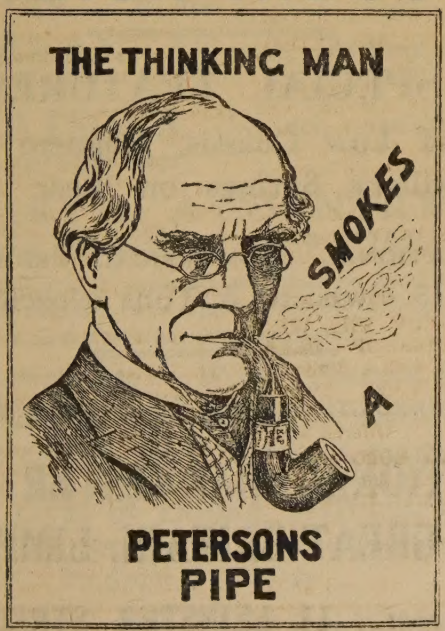

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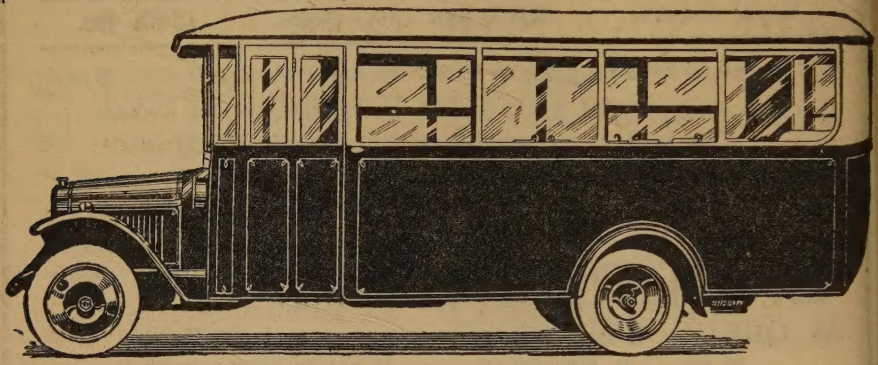

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STUDIES

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[1] Paris: Editions Spes. 1926. 4 fr.

With the best intentions in the world the judges and tribunals were badly handicapped in their efforts to determine excessive gains, and undeniably their decisions were not unfrequently at fault through inability to take due account of all the pertinent circumstances. Naturally the merchants and their champions in the press were loud in denunciation of the war measure, and especially of the manner in which it was interpreted and administered through the courts. Nevertheless, the war measure was continued long after the cessation of hostilities, and later on the proposal was brought forward that profiteering itself be made a legal offence. Then it became manifest how extremely difficult it was to compute excessive profit. Logically the idea of excess connotes some standard of equitable profit. But how was the standard to be fixed? In the course of the debates the name of St. Thomas was invoked, his moral principles approved, but his aim of combining moral principles with economic legislation was dismissed as fantastic. The deputies, unable to satisfy themselves about the fixed standard, refused to make excessive profits as such a legal offence, although convinced that excessive profits were immoral and at the root of the high cost of living.

Still the law against illicit speculation was retained, and the courts were entrusted with the right and duty of deciding where speculation was unjust; they were instructed, moreover, to punish agreements for the purpose of securing profits in excess of what the free operation of the law of supply and demand would allow, or which would not conform to current net prices plus a lawful profit. To this of course the objection was obvious: How could the judges say what was a lawful profit in connection with illicit speculation if they could not determine the limits beyond which profit would cease to be lawful? From such an inconsistent position the deputies could find no practical way out. In the end they had to console themselves with the pious hope that

the moral law would prove more effective than any penal code they could hope to establish.

Greatly daring Fr. Arnou ventures to take up this despairing appeal, and proceeds to examine prices and profits in the light of Catholic moral principles. He has an obvious advantage at the outset over the legislators and jurists, inasmuch as he can avail of the guidance of definite moral principles accurately set forth in Catholic theology. He starts with the universally admitted principle, that in all contracts of exchange there should be a substantial equivalence between what each of the contracting parties gives and receives. But immediately another and more difficult question arises: Exchange takes place only because each party believes that he is gaining an advantage by it, in other words that he is getting something more valuable to him than what he is giving away. So of course he is; otherwise the exchange would not take place at all. Each benefits or convinces himself that he benefits by the exchange, and yet the equivalence between the articles given and received may be accurately maintained; for the standard of necessary equivalence is not the personal appreciation of the individuals contracting, but an objective value in the articles themselves, which is quite different from and independent of the personal value which the parties attach to it.

But what precisely is this objective equivalence? According to Father Arnou it is the equivalence of social value, or of general social utility—the power of satisfying human demands. The ordinary member of the community need not trouble about this, need not try to estimate it; he will find it already expressed in the commonly accepted current prices, which may be taken as the automatic expression of social value. According to the law of averages individual tastes and judgments, when exercised over a large field, tend to balance one another. When a large number of individuals look at a thing from

different angles, their various estimates acting and reacting on one another will ultimately produce a fairly standardised resultant, which will be the mean or community value. This collective balanced judgment, the mean average at which the different estimates settle down, Father Arnou identifies with the *Aestimatio Communis* of the theologians.

Thus social utility or the aptitude of an article to satisfy public needs is made an essential element of value, and the instrument by which this can be measured in the current transactions is an appreciation which is social and collective—not necessarily of the whole multitude nor even of the majority, but of a certain number of specially qualified men, honest, free and competent. This appreciation defines the objective value. It is the judgment of individuals indeed, but of individuals who are representative and specially qualified to pronounce. Yet it is scarcely accurate to say that this appreciation fixes itself automatically. It is fixed by experts whose personal interests are involved in the accuracy of their estimate. If the prices they fix do not correspond with the social value, which is really what is automatically determined by the interplay of individual tastes and judgments, they are liable to be at a loss, either because the prices will be too high to meet a demand or too low to secure the full profits.

For the sake of clearness it is of importance to note the difference between these two things: (1) the social value, which is the resultant of the interplay of individual judgments, tastes and desires at any given time and place; (2) the common estimate or evaluation, which is a more or less expert determination of the resultant of all these factors, and which it is which fixes the current price.

But at once our author is forced to realise that frequently in practice these free equitable conditions are not realised, and that those who are weaker economically

are usually imposed on and oppressed still further. That however does not shake his faith in the moral value of free competition. It is, in his opinion, merely an abuse due to the absence of full freedom, an abuse too which it is by no means impossible to provide against. Satisfied, therefore, about his guiding moral principle, the problem of fair price and fair profit resolves itself into the practical one of counteracting the causes which tend to produce a discrepancy between the current prices and the social value of articles of exchange.

The first and most obvious of these causes is to be looked for in the dishonesty or incompetence of the specially qualified individuals who calculate the social value and fix the prices according to their calculations. As regards dishonesty, however, no great danger is to be apprehended under that heading, since as enlightened men of business those who make these calculations must be aware that it will be always to their ultimate advantage that the prices should correspond as close as possible to the social value. But as regards incompetence the matter is not quite so simple. Owing to the extreme difficulty of calculating the many and diverse factors which go to determine the social value—abundance of one class of goods and scarcity of another, sudden and unforeseen expenses, alterations of tastes and fashions, etc.—there is always some measure of incompetency to be expected. Yet that also will be of small practical account, as errors from this cause more or less counterbalance one another as far as effect on the general public is concerned.

Assuming that a fair standard price has been fixed in the manner described, the question then arises of the charges for distribution. Naturally these charges must vary considerably according to the circumstances of place and time. And so it is not possible to fix a uniform rate of retail prices. This affords an opening for extensive profiteering. Is it possible to set a definite limit to these charges? The French Legislature has not found it so.

It felt itself unable to undertake to define legal prices or legal profits, or even to authorise the courts to do so in particular instances. It has felt constrained to content itself with devices for preventing fraudulent and illicit practices in this respect. Confessedly it has not succeeded in preventing profiteering. Unjustifiable fortunes are being amassed at the expense of an exploited and impoverished public. Confessedly, too, these excessive gains, although immune from legal control, are against the moral law.

Fr. Arnou is of opinion that it should be possible for the civil law to keep retail prices substantially within the equitable limits which the moral law prescribes. He considers that the legislators are not quite consistent in their attitude towards the limitation of profits. They authorise judges to determine profits which are excessive in connection with illegal speculation. From that it would seem to follow that the judges should be competent to pronounce what profits are in themselves equitable. He thinks that the danger of arbitrariness, so alarming to the Legislators, might be avoided if the factors to be taken into account in fixing the equitable retail price were accurately determined. But he does not find it so easy to satisfy himself as to what factors should be taken into account, or what precise moral principles should be adopted in trying to regulate them.

He adverts to the mediaeval moral principle, that traders should be allowed a reward sufficient to maintain them decently according to the standard of their class. But that principle he considers inapplicable at present both because it would be impossible to find agreement as to the standard, and also because a moderate rate of any kind would not satisfy ambitious and adventurous spirits, whose courage and enterprise are such valuable assets to the community, and who therefore on grounds of public utility deserve to be encouraged. And even on moral grounds alone there would appear to be sufficient

justification for sometimes allowing traders rewards beyond a moderate competence. Those who are expected to be contented with a competence as a reward for their services to the community, have on the other hand a security from the community that the competence will be forthcoming. But the ambitious and adventurous look for no such security from the community, nor from the nature of the case would it be possible for the community to afford it. They risk everything, and so there should be no limit set to the rewards they may hope to obtain.

Fr. Arnou's own solution is substantially as follows: judges or some other competent authority should be given power to define the just retail price on the basis of the standard price, plus a fair reward for the labour and management, plus a fair interest on all the capital employed, plus a further percentage to vary according to the risks involved. But the entire system based on the principle of standard prices is very much shaken and to a great extent nullified in practice by the rise of monopolies. The effect of a monopoly, even when not of the complete and formal kind, is to fix their own prices, thus withdrawing their goods from the operation of the interacting forces by which it is supposed the social value and through it the standard price are determined. Now since there are a considerable number of such monopolies, and since moreover they exist chiefly in connection with raw materials, it is easy to see how greatly the operation of the standard prices is restricted.

Yet Fr. Arnou does not consider that every monopoly should be forthwith condemned as a form of exploitation. On the contrary, in the interest of efficiency, and even as a necessity if France is to be able to hold its own in international trade competition, he believes that monopolies should be sometimes encouraged and developed. To that extent then he must be prepared to set aside the operation of his principle of standard prices. Not that he

would allow monopoly prices to be arbitrary. At the commencement of their operation he thinks monopolies should fix or be made to fix their prices at the scale which competition determines or could be calculated to determine if it existed. That, however, could be only for a short time. Soon the tradition of competition in their goods would be lost, and with the changes which monopolies would bring in the form of patents and so forth it would be utterly impossible to say even approximately what the competitive price would be. In such cases he suggests that recourse should be had to the direct method of fixing prices.

There is room for a considerable difference of opinion about the item which should be taken into account in making the direct estimate of just prices, as also about the manner and rate at which they should be estimated—all which goes to show that it is impossible in this way to determine the just price within narrow limits.

Briefly, Fr. Arnou's view is this. The price should be sufficient to allow a fair per cent. on all the capital employed in the industry or business, plus a profit which Moral Theologians would place at about 4-6 per cent., plus a further per cent. as security against risks, which obviously ought to vary according to the degree of risk involved. But that is by no means all. The 4-6 per cent. profit is fixed for ordinary service; it should, therefore, be allowed to increase for services of exceptional efficiency, such as monopolies, because of superior organisation, are in a position to render. How much extra might be added on this account it would be difficult to estimate, but it should be very considerable in certain cases. Further still it is admitted that the just moral price is always variable, standing not at any definite point, but rather anywhere between two extremes —the minimum and the maximum. Where everything is so flexible, the range between these extremes may leave room for much manipulation in prices before it could be

said confidently that the maximum just limit had been exceeded. Taking all that into account, it would certainly be difficult to say when a monopoly price could be definitely pronounced to be unjustly high.

But of course the question of the rate of prices is not the only one involved in the consideration of monopolies. Even though they did make for more general efficiency and cheapness, these advantages might be more than counteracted by their tendency to accentuate the divorce between wealth and labour, to concentrate the wealth amongst a minority growing progressively smaller, and to increase the power of wealth over humanity. These questions, in themselves well worthy of examination, are too large to be undertaken here in connection with the specific problem of regulating profits and prices.

One has to admire the courage with which Fr. Arnou approaches this intricate problem, and the edifying tenacity with which he adheres to the concrete situation and never allows himself to be betrayed into mere abstract discussions. In a sense also it must be placed to his credit that he has not tried to pronounce between the merits of different moral principles, as for instance between the Common Estimate and the direct taxation of costs ; but rather accepting them all on the authority of the theologians who have propounded them, he applies one or other impartially according as it appears helpful in the existing situation with which he happens to be concerned. It can scarcely be claimed, however, that he has contributed much towards a practical solution of the problem of profiteering. If the French Liberals were to proceed to adopt his proposals in the morning, the net result would be almost imperceptible. The summary of his conclusions suggests that, in respect to this specific problem, the civil authorities can expect but little helpful direction or support from the moral law. On the whole he rather creates the impression that we are being driven to recognise that this evil, which we may all deplore, is

a sort of economic necessity beyond the control of law.

It appears to me that the cause of the practical ineffectiveness of Fr. Arnou's moral suggestions is to be found in his too ready acceptance of the existing economic conditions. In his laudable desire to adhere closely to realities he would seem to have unconsciously accepted the modern economic principles; and having thus given away the fundamental position, his subsequent attempts to introduce moral principles by the side door as it were cannot be other than futile, since moral principles cannot be expected to operate in conditions which are essentially non-moral.

The French Liberal politicians have consistently kept before themselves the ideal of economic justice extending to prices and profits, and to that extent they are in agreement with the mediaeval moral economists. But they emphatically reject the mediaeval position that prices or profits should be subjected to definite moral regulations. Their own position has ever been, that the end they have in view can be best attained by the operation of full free competition; and all their efforts have been directed towards the realisation of such conditions of competition or, where they cannot be realised, towards securing that prices and profits shall conform as closely as possible to what they would be, if these true competitive conditions obtained.

In this they are simply trying to have things both ways. They want justice and equity, and at the same time with true Liberal prejudice they will have nothing to do with moral authority. Liberty or full economic freedom is for them the royal road to justice and equity, and full free competition is their constant shibboleth. Yet this liberty gives no safe guarantee of justice. On the contrary, all the lessons of history go to prove that that free competition leads naturally to the admittedly unjust conditions which they are concerned to reform, if

not even to the more undesirable conditions which shrewd observers tell us we are drifting towards at the present moment. Not only is that so, but an impartial consideration of the meaning of full free competition should of itself be enough to convince us that the conditions could not be other than those which history shows them to be in fact.

Faced with this result of their own principle of free competition, the Liberal politicians appear to imagine that they can fall back on moral guidance, calling to their aid the concepts of justice and fairness, and ultimately appealing to the moral law as something likely to be more effective than their own enactments. Apparently they forget that they have themselves destroyed the effectiveness of moral concepts as such in the sphere of economics. If they will have it that free competition is the instrument by which justice is to be secured, then surely they cannot consistently appeal to the claims of justice as a means of correcting the inequalities of free competition. One can scarcely say at one moment that justice is what free competition determines, and at another that justice must direct free competition.

While Liberals have made free competition a substitute for moral guidance, confident that if free competition can be secured, there is no need for moral adjustments, Fr. Arnou would give what I cannot regard as other than a spurious moral sanction to the non-moral principle of free competition. This is what his exposition of the Common Estimate really amounts to. He is quite correct in his fundamental moral principle, that in contracts of exchange equivalence is required between the objects exchanged. Also, he is correct in stating that for contracts between individuals this equivalence is practically secured through the current prices of the articles. Anyone who desires an article can have it at its current price, nor is it possible to get it at appreciably less.

When individuals, therefore, give or receive articles according to their current price, they deal with one another on terms of strict equivalence—neither is getting an advantage over the other.

It is quite a different thing to say that this price, which constitutes the moral standard of exchange between individuals, is itself determined by the application of or even in accordance with moral principles. We may suppose, for example, that a baking company has a practical monopoly of bread in a certain locality, that it has secured its position by the employment of fraud and unjust pressure on rivals, that it is still prepared to avail of its superior economic strength to crush any new competitors, and that it takes full advantage of its position to profiteer on the necessities of the public, fixing the price of bread very much higher than the cost of production. No one, I venture to say, would hold that the price so fixed would be morally justifiable; yet it would be the current price of bread in that locality, and would fix its just exchange value not only between ordinary individuals but even between the retailers of bread and their customers. Such an example should suffice to show that a price which may serve as a moral standard of exchange between individuals may itself be not only non-moral, but glaringly immoral.

Yet Fr. Arnou interprets and applies the principle of *Common Estimate* in a manner which would make it a means of determining the moral just price itself. Quite properly he starts with the assumption that, if a price is to be considered moral, it must be according to some objective standard; for if, as we have seen, individual buyers and sellers require some objective standard, so also should the standard itself, if it is to be moral, be objectively determined. Such an objective standard, he thinks, can be found in what he calls the social value, or the capacity of an article for satisfying social needs and desires, which may be also expressed as its capacity to

respond to public demands. Here it appears to me we may discover the source of the whole confusion about the morality of modern prices.

It is entirely misleading to speak of this social value as an objective standard. Granted that it is the capacity of the object to satisfy public desires, which as Fr. Arnou argues is expressed by what the public by their free intercourse determine it, and can be calculated with substantial accuracy, it still remains true that the determining element in constituting this value is subjective—*viz.*, the needs and desires of the public. Apart from these the capacity to satisfy them has no value. The capacity of a loaf of bread to satisfy the appetite of a starving man is just as much objective, and yet one would not say that the price of a loaf of bread fixed according to what a starving man would be willing to pay for it would be an objective price.

As there are certain elements of truth and a great deal of plausibility in the social value theory, I hope I shall not be considered wearisome if I try to illustrate its meaning by a simple example. Water has the capacity of satisfying most pressing human needs, yet in ordinary circumstances it has no social value, because water is so plentiful and so easily obtained that no one really cares whether he gets any particular gallon of water or not; he can have another equally good for the mere taking. But things would be somewhat different in a town which had no water supply nearer than two miles. In that town water would have a value roughly determined by the expense of carrying it the two miles. The ordinary townsman wants water, and he can have it either by fetching it himself or by paying what is considered the value of the labour of fetching it. In the simplest conditions an elementary trade in water would soon develop in that town. Water carriers would devote themselves to that service, and the price would settle about a point close to the cost of carrying it. Water

would now have a social value in this town, which would be represented in the common estimate or in the price at which it would freely exchange.

The question may now be asked, why this price could be rightly regarded as objective and moral. Is it because it corresponds to the average desires of the inhabitants of the town, or is it because it represents the value of the service of supplying the water ? At first sight that might appear a purely theoretical question. Since in reality the price would be the same, it would not seem to make much practical difference whether we say it is fixed by the pressure of needs and desires or by the value of the service. But it is really a question which lies at the root of all the difference between moral and non-moral prices. If we regard it as fixed by the pressure of needs and desires, it is hard to see how it can be other than subjective and non-moral, even though in this case, by a happy accident, it coincides with the rate of price which might be reckoned according to an objective standard.

If the town grew to any fair proportions, and if there were no municipal water supply, some of the townsmen would certainly be found enterprising enough to have the water conveyed in pipes and distributed to consumers. So far still the value of the service would be the same as that fixed by the needs and desires of the people, that is the subjective and objective prices would continue to coincide, since the people would be prepared to pay for the water roughly what it would cost them to bring the water themselves or to pay others to bring it for them. It does not follow, however, that such a price would be morally justifiable, for although the just moral price must be objective, every objective price is not necessarily morally just. On another occasion I hope to examine the fair moral price ; for the present I am only concerned with the social value standard, which, I submit, would make the price subjective and non-moral, even

though at times it might be measured by an objective standard.

Let us now suppose that there is not one but many lines of water pipes belonging to different owners. The law of supply and demand comes into operation. The price would be fixed by competition amongst the vendors and would be manifestly subjective. Each vendor would fix his price according to the needs and desires of the people he hopes to supply, while of course taking account of the fact that if he fixes his price too high his prospective customers will be driven to deal with one of his competitors. The pertinent fact to be noted is that the price is fixed by what the public in the given circumstances will be prepared to pay for the water.

It has been frequently represented that competition does in fact always cause prices so fixed to correspond with the value of the service given in providing the articles, since if the prices be higher fresh competition will be induced to come in and bring the prices down to a figure just sufficient to make it worth one's while in the concrete circumstances of that community to render the service. That might be so in certain conditions which unhappily are never adequately fulfilled. It might be true if there were a sufficiently large number of persons qualified to take up the service, and if the raw materials of the service were equally available for all. But as society becomes more complex and more specialised in its services, these conditions become more difficult to realise even partially.

For one thing the number qualified to compete would soon dwindle, and for manifest reasons. To be able to compete at all a certain amount of capital and organisation is required. Even amongst those qualified to compete it is generally found that the few who possess most capital and the best organisations are able to dominate the others to an extent sufficient to make competition ineffective. At present it is being realised that monopoly

tends to render competition ineffective. That is true, but it is nothing recent or accidental. In its very nature competition contains the elements of monopoly. From the beginning superior economic strength must exercise a certain dominance; ultimately that dominance becomes supreme, since it is of the essence of competition that superior strength will subdue its competitors.

Besides, it might easily happen that the available supply of an article may not be sufficient to allow effective competition. Let us suppose that all the springs within reasonable reach of our town have been turned into the reservoirs of seven or eight companies, and that they are just sufficient to meet the demand for water. Ostensibly there would be free trade in water; the companies might appear to be in competition with one another in catering for the needs and desires of the public of the town. In reality what would that competition mean? Up to a certain point the need for water is imperative. If any one of the nominally competing companies wishes to raise its price, competition will not be able to prevent it, since *ex hypothesi* there is only sufficient water altogether to satisfy the needs of the town. The clients of this company may try to transfer their custom to another, but they will find that the other will not be able to serve them. No doubt even an elementary sense of decency would prevent any one company from fixing its price notably higher than the others, and would likewise prevent the entire number from making any sudden or startling increases; but always the tendency would be working upwards in accordance with man's natural cupidity.

Further still, with no corresponding increase in supply, it might easily happen that there would be a marked increase in demand. The population of the town might grow, or the wealthy portion of the population might begin to demand larger supplies of water, requiring it for fountains or extensive systems of baths. In strict accordance with the principle of social value, that would

drive up the price all round, even where it was required for the most elementary necessities. The same would happen if there should be a notable decrease in the supply; if for instance one of the springs should fail or one of the lines of pipes be temporarily put out of action. Indeed we had a striking example of this recently in the famine prices of fuel during the coal strike. Along these lines there would be no natural limit to the price of water; certainly it would bear no proportion to the fair reward for the service of supplying it. The various companies would be reaping large fortunes, while the poor of the town would be burdened with an almost impossible impost on this essential commodity, and would often be unable to secure enough to wash their faces or quench their thirst.

It may appear that I have been unfortunate in the example I have selected, since in no civilised community is it conceivable that extortion such as described would be tolerated in a prime necessity like water. I have selected the extreme example of set purpose, because it proves that there at least the principle of social value would not be just or equitable, and it is precisely by its application to the most critical cases that the validity of a principle can best be tested. It is easy to be vague and inaccurate in our moral judgments when dealing with luxuries and superfluities; it is not so easy when we force ourselves to consider absolute necessities. Moreover the case of water is not so very exceptional. It differs only in degree from many others which might be cited, such as fuel, light, food, clothing, housing, etc. If all these are to be excluded from the operation of the principle of social value, it is difficult to see how it can be said to have any validity at all.

J. Kelleher.

CAN CONSUMPTION BE CURED?

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THE title of this article is suggested by a recent work from the pen of David Masters, entitled *How to Conquer Consumption.*[1] For a layman the author has acquired a fairly comprehensive grasp of the tuberculosis problem, and he presents in a popular form a very clear statement of the difficulties which have been overcome and the obstacles yet to be surmounted. The late Sir William Osler said that a practitioner who thoroughly understood syphilis was a first-rate clinician. He might have made the same remark about tuberculosis. If it is true that medical men have a difficulty in comprehending the many subtleties of the tuberculosis problem, it is no wonder that the author has fallen into error in some of his statements. That these errors are few is a very great testimony to the grasp of the subject possessed by Mr. Masters, and it is to be hoped that his latest work will be read as widely as it deserves.

Tuberculosis presents a wide field of enquiry for the physician, surgeon, pathologist, radiologist, epidemiologist and sanitarian, and this field has been entered and explored times innumerable. With what result? At least one out of every ten deaths in these countries is directly caused by the disease! In how many cases does its presence in the system hasten the end? How much of the chronic invalidism, suffering and delicacy of mankind can be laid at its door? If there were no other disease of mankind, it would of itself constitute a veritable plague. It has been aptly named the White Scourge. Let us see how we stand as regards its treatment.

[1] London: Lane. 1926. 6s. net.

Tuberculin.—Of all the remedies that have been tried against consumption tuberculin stands foremost. Launched by Koch, no ship was ever wafted by such a favouring gale as that which drove tuberculin into prominence. Nor was this to be wondered at. We were still on the threshold of our studies of immunity. Pasteur's discoveries had stimulated our imagination and appealed to our common sense. The old theories of disease and recovery were breaking down. The idea that the body contained a food-substance suitable for the infecting organism, and that when this material was used up the bacterium could no longer maintain its existence and recovery ensued, was losing ground. Koch, the discoverer of the tubercle bacillus, conceived the idea of isolating the poison of this organism and injecting it into tuberculous human beings, in the hope that the body would develop antagonistic substances, antibodies, which would enable it to overcome the poison. The treatment was widely adopted, but its failure to accomplish a cure led to its use being abandoned. Not merely did tuberculin not cure consumption, but in many cases it stimulated the organisms, and made the disease worse. Virchow, the famous pathologist to the Charité, Berlin, said that he had never seen such widespread tuberculosis as that discovered by him at post-mortem examinations of cases treated with tuberculin.

New tuberculins were next advocated and widely tried, and Koch's "old tuberculin" was reserved for cutaneous and subcutaneous diagnostic reactions in man and animals, a use to which it is still put, but its employment as a remedial agent has practically been abandoned. After the failure of Koch's preparation the new tuberculins were not enthusiastically received, but they have been used extensively. Here and there in every country physicians and surgeons are to be met who continue to inject them in selected cases, and they are themselves satisfied that their administration is beneficial. The

general opinion, however, is that in small doses tuberculin is inefficient, whilst in large doses the treatment is attended with considerable risk of causing extension of the tuberculous process. It is probable that Koch and others were working on right lines in their attempt to cure tuberculosis. Certainly the feat which they attempted has been performed in many other infective conditions; but neither Koch nor anyone since has brought forward evidence to convince a scientist that he has discovered the correct way of preparing and administering this therapeutic weapon.

Sanatoria.—Shortly after the failure of tuberculin treatment, attention began to turn to the value of open-air treatment in tuberculosis and other diseases. At first sanatoria were tried. They were mostly situated on the Continent, and to them the patients were sent in all stages of consumption. Here they were treated on sensible and hygienic lines by clinicians who had no other duties to perform. They were examined on admission, and not merely was the state of their lungs observed but their appetite, nutrition, weight and general physical fitness or otherwise were noted, and a permanent record of these details was made. These sanatoria were usually located in an isolated district, which meant pure air, freedom from visitors (who often upset patients and bring in fresh infection from without), and restful conditions. Sometimes they were situated in a pine forest, as it was believed that the fragrant exhalations from the pine exerted a beneficial influence on respiratory diseases. Others were erected above the snow-line, where pure air and abundance of sunshine were to be found.

The general principle underlying the treatment in sanatoria was the avoidance of auto-intoxication. Rest was enforced at first to diminish as much as possible the liberation of the tuberculous poison from the foci scattered through the lungs—rest of the body and rest of the mind. In addition complications such as bronchitis

and pleurisy were attended to, and the treatment was carried out in the open air, on a verandah, or in a room with open windows. Progress was carefully watched, and after a varying period of complete rest it was found that the temperature gradually came down to normal, the pulse remained steady, the cough lessened, the amount of sputum diminished, and the appetite improved. The effect of exercise was then tried. At first it was very gentle, and as no ill-effects were found it was increased. Usually the exercise was walking, and specified distances were traversed daily, seats being provided along the routes to prevent fatigue. After a time the patients put on weight, felt really better and co-operated fully with the physician in his struggle. Discipline was strict, and expulsion from the sanatorium was the fate of those who broke the rules.

The results of sanatorium treatment varied and for many reasons. The severity of the cases, duration of the treatment, situation of the institution, and many other factors influenced the results. On the whole they were good. Many early cases recovered, and did not relapse on their return to ordinary life. Many of the less severe cases went home with the disease arrested, and their subsequent histories depended on the success with which they were able to imitate sanatorium conditions in their own dwellings. Many showed little or no improvement. The early sanatorium-treatment did more than this. The returning patients came home trained. They no longer expectorated indiscriminately, spreading infection far and wide. They had rooms to themselves, when circumstances permitted. They preached the gospel of open-air, and their general fitness and obvious improvement convinced even the medical profession. Nevertheless it was gradually realised that sanatoria were being asked to do more than they were fitted for. They were expensive. They could not confer any lasting benefit on advanced consumptives who were such a menace in

their homes. Patients who had benefited by a prolonged stay relapsed when they had to return to work.

These objections are being met by using sanatoria for selected cases, for training patients in the routine of open-air treatment, by the provision of tuberculosis colonies which aim at being self-supporting, and by the segregation of advanced cases in suitable homes. Progress is slow because of the magnitude of the problem. The question is not how many should go but how many should stop at home, whether we should not turn our cities, towns and villages into sanitoria by building better houses, letting in more light, diminishing the density of the population per acre, removing the sources of infection, detecting the condition earlier, and eventually isolating the infected, as was done with leprosy with such marked success.

Drugs.—How often have not our hopes been raised by the belief that somebody would discover or had actually prepared a chemical for the cure of tuberculosis ? Scarcely a year passes but some clinician advocates a new remedy or resuscitates an old one. The vaunted remedy is tried, but soon reports come along stating that the treatment offers no prospect of cure nor any appreciable benefit over existing methods.

A new filip was given to the study of drugs when Paul Ehrlich developed the study of chemotherapy, the principles of which may be briefly stated. By altering the composition of chemical compounds their properties are profoundly modified at times. The possibility of preparing new organic compounds is almost boundless. Slight modifications of a known compound may deprive a chemical of objectionable properties or increase its beneficial action to the desired extent. Ehrlich studied, amongst other substances, organic arsenical compounds. He eventually succeeded in making a modification of one of his earlier preparations which is now used in the treatment of syphilis with marked success. The drug

is called "Salvarsan." Ehrlich's work stimulated many students of chemistry in the study of therapeutic substances, and much of their energy was directed to the discovery of a "Heilmittel" for tuberculosis. Experiments showed that some compound of gold was likely to provide the long-sought-for remedy.

Work on the gold-compounds reached its climax when Holger Mollgaard, Professor of Chemotherapy in Copenhagen, brought out a gold-sulphur compound, now known as "Sanocrysin." This drug has proved of undoubted value in pulmonary tuberculosis. Strangely enough it has proved disappointing in surgical tuberculosis. This fact matters little, as we know that in sunlight and ultraviolet radiation we possess a cure for the latter type of the disease. Sanocrysin has been on trial now for a few years. Its administration requires care. It is admitted that patients have been harmed by its use. It is stated that many cases have not benefited from its employment. But it is also claimed that in selected cases results have been obtained from treatment with Sanocrysin which have far surpassed anything previously got with remedies for consumption. The Sanocrysin treatment is still in the experimental stage. It is being conducted by experienced men in several countries, and its actual value is still sub judice. It may be that here we have the remedy for which we sought. Perhaps a less toxic and more powerful derivative will replace it.

In considering the cure of an infectious disease such as tuberculosis by drugs it must be borne in mind that the problem is not merely to discover a chemical that will destroy the causal organism. Any disinfectant will do that. The real difficulty is to prepare a substance which is capable of destroying the organism in the tissues without killing the patient. The body is made up of cells; bacteria are also cells. The successful drug must be selective in its action. It must poison the parasite

without causing serious damage to the cells of the host. There must be a safe margin between the therapeutic dose and the fatal dose. There is the crux.

Spahlinger.—One of the most interesting chapters in *How to Conquer Consumption* is devoted to Spahlinger, and the following remarks will be confined, as far as possible, to a discussion of Masters' views on the subject. What is one to say of Spahlinger about whom so much has been written in the daily papers and in the medical journals? To some he is a conundrum. He studied medicine for a few years, abandoned it in disgust, qualified as a lawyer, and then devoted himself to the study of the bacteriology of tuberculosis. He is described as a man of charming personality, modest, shy, unassuming; yet he has discovered *all* the tubercular toxins or poisons, and in addition he has produced the *complete* serum which is the cure for *all* forms of the disease! This serum was produced in 1913 and again in 1919, but has all been used up on test cases; and, according to Masters, until Spahlinger has once more made the complete treatment and officially proved in every country its efficacy to those who doubt it, it would be most dangerous to let the control of his treatment pass out of his hands.

Here indeed is much food for thought. The cure was complete in 1913. It was tested and proved satisfactory. This is the stage at which remedies are put on the market. Insulin, discovered a few years ago, was rigidly tested; its value was proved. It was immediately placed on the market, is now available all over the world, and has saved many lives and prolonged the existence of many diabetic patients. Yet fourteen years have elapsed since Spahlinger's complete treatment was tested out, and it is not yet available for suffering humanity! And why was the serum which was subsequently prepared tested in 1919? The complete serum was successful six years previously. It was tested and proved, we are told. Why had it to be tested again?

If the original tests in 1913 were satisfactory the remedy was of proved value, and when more of it was obtainable it might have been sold to cover the expense of manufacture. Those who had already tested the serum and were prepared to vouch for its curative properties, were surely willing to purchase the 1919 product. It would have made their names and that of Spahlinger. There are many tuberculous inhabitants in Switzerland. Did they not need the serum? Hundreds of foreigners go to the Swiss sanatoria every year to benefit themselves. Were they not prepared to pay for this serum, and pay dearly for it, provided it cured them?

In addition to this complete serum there is a vaccine. Having prepared the cure the inventor set out to discover the preventive. Now what precisely is the difference between a serum and a vaccine? It is this. A serum is prepared by injecting an animal repeatedly with a bacterial toxin. The animal's tissues react by forming an antibody. Now if the animal be bled and the serum which separates after clotting be withdrawn, it will be found that this serum has acquired new properties. It will neutralise the specific toxin or poison used for its preparation. If a mixture of the toxin and this serum be injected into an animal it will no longer prove toxic, because the serum now possesses the power of neutralising the toxin. It is therefore called an antitoxic serum. Furthermore if this serum be injected into a person suffering from poisoning with this toxin, the antibodies which it contains rapidly neutralise the poison in the circulation, and a speedy cure may be expected, provided that a sufficient amount of the antitoxin is administered before the tissues are damaged beyond repair. Everyone is familiar with this treatment in diphtheria. The immunity conferred in this manner is said to be passive, and its duration is short.

With vaccination active immunity is developed. The organism is injected into the system, which reacts by

producing its own antibodies. The protection afforded against typhoid fever by vaccination during the World War is a very good example of this practice, and many people subject to colds now undergo a course of vaccine treatment regularly to enable them to more easily resist infection. It is such a vaccine that Spahlinger has prepared for the prevention of tuberculosis. To have discovered the serum for the cure of consumption was a great triumph. There are few scientists living or dead who would not exchange their own discoveries for that claimed by Spahlinger. Fifty-five thousand victims were claimed by tuberculosis in Saorstat Eireann during the years 1915-1924. Even more people in England died from this disease in 1917. All these people should be alive and well to-day, were it not that Spahlinger, unable to produce the serum himself, withholds the method of preparation—" solely on the advice of British medical men," Masters tells us. There is a fear that unscrupulous people might place on the market ineffective anti-tubercular sera and vaccines. If the formula were disclosed, surely the scrupulous manufacturers would place effective sera and vaccines on the market! Is it beyond Spahlinger's powers to draw up a contract to ensure that the remedy would be prepared under his supervision and according to his instructions? This procedure was adopted in the manufacture of insulin with very satisfactory results. If Spahlinger still had doubts on the point, could he not approach the government of every country in which manufacture under licence was permitted by him and ask them to test the efficacy of every batch of the remedy before issue?

The picture painted by Masters of Spahlinger—that of a broken man who has spent £80,000 on his research work, whose family has beggared itself to assist him, and whose premises are mortgaged up to the hilt—is indeed a sad one. Yet this man is stated to have refused all offers of money previous to 1923. Grateful patients

have forwarded cheques, sometimes as high as £4,000, but in every case they have been returned. Still we are told that "but for lack of money, which has driven him from time to time to sell partly immunized horses, the complete serum would have been prepared by now for the third time." The author of *How to Conquer Consumption* states that "most people seem to be unaware that in the *Lancet* of January 7, 1922, Spahlinger fully explained the scientific principles on which his work is based." Does this fact surprise him? Is the author himself aware of the leading article which was published in the *Lancet*, February 17, 1923, under the heading "L'Affaire Spahlinger," from which the following extracts are taken? "The position of the Spahlinger treatment has reached a stage which would be comic, were it not so supremely tragic." "Mr Spahlinger himself does not pose as a clinician, and the clinical trials of his remedies have been spread over several countries and have nowhere been carried out under research conditions." "We can only trust that he will submit to the independent investigation of his remedy, which would put him right with the medical world and relieve him of his immediate difficulties. . . . . We appeal to Mr. Spahlinger in the name of humanity, no less than in that of Science, to consent to this course."

Masters reminds us that our fathers stoned Lister and Pasteur. Here is an example of the way in which the discoveries of Pasteur were challenged after he had become famous. Pasteur announced his discovery of a vaccine for anthrax at the Académie des Sciences. It was immediately questioned. The editor of a veterinary journal wrote: "Microbiolatry is the fashion, ... the microbe alone is true, and Pasteur is its prophet." He then collected money to have a test made, and drew up a scheme which left Pasteur no loophole of escape. Pasteur announced beforehand what would happen. He carried out the tests, and the results fully bore out his

prophecy. If the renowned Pasteur, when already well-known to Science, had to submit his discoveries to such searching investigations, can Spahlinger grumble at the courtesy which has been shown to him by the medical profession? If Koch, the discoverer of the tubercle bacillus, was mistaken in his belief that he had found a cure for tuberculosis, are we not justified in insisting on rigid proofs before accepting other claims?

Can consumption be cured? In the early stages—yes. It is a very common event to find at post-mortem examination a little fibrous nodule at the apex of one or other lung which represents a healed focus of tuberculosis. Often on incision of these foci a little cheesy mass is found at the centre which contains living tubercle bacilli. In such cases the disease has been arrested rather than cured. The microbes in this condition may be likened to the defenders of a besieged city. If the patient is careless and lowers his vitality in any way, the bacteria may make a sortie and obtain a footing outside the ramparts. This type of warfare may go on for a long time—every excess, each severe cold leading to an extension of the territory laid waste by the micro-organisms, every period of watchfulness, of attention to the health and avoidance of lowering conditions bringing about the arrest of the bacteria. But with this reservation—the larger the area laid waste, the greater the difficulty of completely walling it in, and the less the likelihood of repairing it should the bacteria suffer defeat.

The disease may be held at bay in this fashion for quite a long time; but gradually, as the tissues get eaten away, accidents may occur. Fresh patches may develop calling away some of the defenders to meet the new attack. Fits of severe coughing may damage the lung tissue and lead to fresh extension of the disease. Rupture of blood-vessels may occur with resultant anaemia and damage to the lung tissue. Involvement of the second lung leads to fresh extensions and to increased strain on the

tissues required for respiration. Pleurisy may develop, necessitating loss of work, rest in bed, difficulty in breathing, perhaps failure of the compressed lung to expand again. And all these happenings may be spread over several years, during which time the patient may feel quite well over long periods. His cough may be trivial, his temperature normal, his colour good. He may go to his work as usual, feeling better and believing himself well. Can we expect a cure at this stage?

It would seem not. A patient in this condition may battle along for years, attending to his duties with occasional periods of confinement to bed "with a bad cold." So far we have got no remedy that will penetrate into the midst of these cheesy areas which the enemy has laid waste. Remember these areas are devoid of blood-vessels, and the remedies we know of can only be brought to the edge of the destroyed tissue by the blood-stream. When this state of affairs has existed for some time, certain changes occur in other organs. The tubercle bacillus has all the while been forming a poison, more or less of which was being absorbed according as the tuberculous process was extending or being held in check. This poison has been damaging cells and tissues. Strain has been thrown on the excretory mechanism of the body which was called on to eliminate it. The cells of the liver have been damaged, and digestion is interfered with. The respiration is diminished or impeded, and eventually a stage is reached where recovery can no longer take place. Death is now in sight. It may come rapidly or it may tarry; but even a cure of the actual tuberculous process or its removal by surgery, were such possible, would no longer save the patient.

What are we to lay down as a test of cure in such a disease as this? What interval of apparent good health should we allow between the cessation of symptoms and the onset of fresh lung trouble to enable us to exclude a recrudescence of the original attack? If a long interval

of quiescence follow the administration of a drug or serum, are we to infer that the treatment was beneficial? Or if a blood-vessel rupture following an injection into a vein, should we hold the treatment responsible? If the invalid go to a sanatorium and get some new treatment, to what are we to attribute his improvement on his return? In one case it might be the sanatorium treatment, in another the new remedy, in a third the combination might be acting. What of the person who returns no better, or even worse? Has the new remedy failed, or is it part of the natural course of the disease? The better one understands tuberculosis the more difficult is it to draw accurate inferences from isolated cases. Hippocrates has truly said: "Experience is fallacious, and judgment difficult."

Despair is not the burden of my song. The teaching of Preventive Medicine is beginning to bear fruit. Fresh air, sunlight, exercise, good food, healthy conditions of employment, proper clothing, cleanliness, better houses, supervision and education of the young—all these things are beginning to bear fruit. Progress will come with prevention. Cure is at best a confession of failure. Tuberculosis is being taken in hand. The problem is a big one. It requires money and time. Still we find the death-rate on the decline, and as the number of deaths decreases the rate of diminution in the mortality should increase. Osler foretold a fifty per cent. reduction in the mortality from tuberculosis in Ireland seventeen years ago. His prophecy has come true already. This achievement, however, should not cause us to relax our efforts. Now, more than ever, we should resist the attacks of this disease. Victory is within sight. We must give no quarter. We can call no truce. "Resist the beginnings; after-remedies come too late." No better motto could be emblazoned on the shields of those who battle with consumption.

W. D. O'Kelly.

STATE RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

WHO has the right to the education of the child? The state? The parents? The Church? Plainly all three have some rights in the matter. Can they be harmonised? Up to the end of the eighteenth century everywhere, in non-Catholic as well as Catholic lands, education was left almost entirely under the control of the clergy. In the French Constituent Assembly the principle was first formulated that on the state lies the full responsibility for the education of its youth. But even for many of the men of '89 such a proposal seemed at first too wild. In the end, however, Danton's principle that "les enfants appartiennent à la République avant d'appartenir à leurs parents" was realised by the decrees (1792-5) of the Convention, establishing state primary education, obligatory, non-religious, gratuitous and uniform. This system was subsequently modified in France, but its underlying principle was adopted at various times and in various degrees everywhere throughout Europe during the nineteenth century.

A conflict was thus made inevitable between the Church and the state. On the one hand, the state had a natural interest in the training of its citizens, on whose character and civic functions its well-being depends. On the other hand, the Church was unwilling to lose all control over the training of her members, for whose moral and religious formation she has a divinely given

responsibility. When, as often, the state professed to ignore religion, this conflict became more acute.

But what of the parents? Surely they, too, had an interest in the matter. For a long time they left their cause to be defended by the Church and the more conservative political parties; but, in general, parents of the poorer classes, except when the schools offered them were grossly objectionable, were naturally glad of a system relieving them of all expense.

The struggle is still in progress, but the position of the contending parties to-day is very different from what it was, say, fifty years ago. The field—or at least the greater part of it—has been won by the state. Education is now obligatory everywhere; everywhere it is provided free; by no political party anywhere is this principle opposed.[1]

The Church and State Education

Yet the Catholic Church has never formally approved of the principle of state education. Rather, she regards it with a certain suspicion; and, even where state schools are such as to satisfy her, she always stops short of approving the principle on which they are founded. For instance, to-day in Italy, where religion has been placed on the official programme as "the foundation and crowning of all education," some of her writers[2] have protested against the whole principle, however excellently applied.

In Ireland the situation is not dissimilar. In spite of the intentions of its founders, our National School system has been, for long past, in fair harmony with Catholic ideals. Yet it was never formally approved of, and when, in 1892, the English Cabinet proposed to complete it by imposing a legal obligation of sending children to school, the bishops protested, declaring that

[1] When recently in Ireland the Obligatory Education Law was reinforced and even extended to children of 16, no protest was made in any quarter.

[2] *Cf. Civiltà Cattolica*, March 1 and 15, 1924.

they did not approve of the principle of obligatory education.[1]

Does, therefore, the Church favour popular ignorance? That is what her enemies say, deliberately ignoring all her history. For eighteen centuries European states did not trouble themselves about the education of their peoples, whereas during all that time the Church, wherever she had the power, promoted education of all kinds, elementary and advanced, for rich and poor alike; establishing her parish schools, cathedral schools, monastery schools, and universities; founding her teaching Orders; giving encouragement and help by innumerable decrees, papal, synodal and conciliar.[2] The "agreed lie" as to popular ignorance in the middle ages and subsequent centuries lives on only in low-class controversial writings. Though the Church has never claimed any mission to teach secular knowledge, she has always held it in the highest regard as a fitting, nay an indispensable crowning of civilisation. But, as school life exercises a decisive effect on subsequent life and character, she was bound, in virtue of her God-appointed purpose, to demand such a measure of control as would ensure that her children might be trained as good Christians.

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[1] At a full episcopal meeting, 5 April, 1892, presided over by Dr. Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, a resolution proposed by Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, and passed unanimously, ran as follows:—"That, whilst on more than one ground we feel unable to express approval of those provisions of the Education Bill which apply to Ireland the principle of direct compulsion, we should highly approve of any reasonable measure of indirect compulsion." The Standing Committee of the bishops repeated (April 26) this protest against the Bill as "a grave and uncalled-for interference with the constitutional rights of parents," and suggested provisions for indirect compulsion, namely:—(1) prohibition of the employment of children under 13; (2) committal to Industrial schools of destitute orphans, deserted children, etc.; (3) exclusion from monitorships, etc., of children whose school attendance has not been satisfactory.

[2] The results attained by her activity bear comparison with those attained in many countries after 100 years of state compulsion. For instance, in France, in 1789, the Church had 562 colleges giving higher instruction to 72,747 pupils, of whom 40,000 paid no fees; in 1881, for a population very much bigger, the state had 381 secondary colleges, with 79,231 pupils of whom 4,949 enjoyed burses, mostly partial.

There can be no doubt that the modern principle of state education is largely inspired by a completely false notion of the state's function in society. The idea prevalent to-day, an idea consciously or unconsciously held by vast numbers outside the Catholic Church, is that the state, by virtue of the magnitude of its material interests, takes precedence in the matter of rights over all the units which go to its formation. Such an exaggeration of state supremacy is of course utterly at variance with Christian philosophy. In sacredness of rights the order is quite the opposite: first comes the individual, then the family, then the state. Each individual is placed in the world primarily for the purpose of serving God and thereby winning for himself eternal life. For the carrying out of this purpose he is given immediately to his parents, with whom he is united by inviolable duties and rights. The family is the first of all natural societies. Families, then, form natural aggregations or societies, of which the state is the most important. Existing before the state, the family does not derive from the state its constitution or rights. Both families and individuals have rights and duties with regard to the state, but these leave untouched the prior rights and duties which unite the individual with his family.

Rights of Parents, State and the Church

The extent to which the state has educational rights and duties derived from the Natural Law and the Divine Law is clearly set forth in the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church. She, first of all, distinguishes between the Natural Order and the Supernatural; that is, she first lays down the obligations which would bind all men in the hypothesis that God had not established His Church, and which, of course, actually bind all men who do not recognise the existence of that Church; she then lays down the superadded obligations resulting from the Christian Revelation; for the Church, it must be

remembered, is the authoritative interpreter of the Natural Law as well as of the Divine Law. Indeed, in many matters, such as marriage, social rights, etc., the defence of the Natural Law is to-day left almost entirely to her.

Now it is a certain principle of Natural Law that the right of educating children belongs to children's parents.[1] A convincing reason for this is derived from the nature of the family. It was founded by the Creator primarily for the procreation of children; that is, of beings who without proper intellectual and moral training would be little better than animals. Therefore, this formation, no less than physical training, is comprised in the primary end of marriage; the duty of giving it is consequent on marriage; and the right to give it follows on this duty. To this argument is added another, drawn from Providence. God cannot have left the mental and moral training of children to blind chance. Had He left it as a charge on the general community, He would have been delivering over the child to mere chance—or rather to certain ruin. To have left it to the civil rulers of the community would have been little better. Civil rulers are ill-suited to nurse or feed or clothe or teach or train the young. There remains, therefore, the conclusion that God left the training of children to their parents. That He did so is confirmed by considerations drawn from psychology and everyday experience.

The right, therefore, as well as the duty, of educating children belongs to parents, and this right implies, of course, a duty on the part of others not to interfere with its exercise. When for any reason parents cannot or do not wish themselves to perform this duty, they have a strict right to appoint others—any others who are competent—to take their place; and this right cannot be challenged by any person or body whatever. Liberty of

[1] *Cf.* St. Thomas, *Summa contra Gentiles* L. III., ch. 123; *Summa Theologica*, P. III., Q. lxviii., art. 10.

education is, therefore, directly derivable from the Natural Law, and the Church has always insisted on this liberty.[1]

Has the state then no standing at all in the education of her citizens? She has, but only such standing as is derived from the functions which the Natural Law assigns to her. These functions are twofold. The first—her primary one—is the guarding of the rights of all her members; the second—her secondary one—is the promotion of public prosperity by securing to individuals, families, and private associations such conditions as will favour their material, intellectual and moral well-being. The state, in virtue of this latter function, has plainly the right to help parents in doing their duty. Moreover, as all children have a right to a suitable education, it follows that the state, in virtue of her primary function, has the right, and even the duty, of providing it for children whose parents cannot or will not do so.

The above principles are deducible from the Natural Law, and evidently bind all men and states at all times and in all places. But we live in a Supernatural Order. God has founded His Church to lead all men to eternal life, and has ordered all men to hear her. She has a strict right against all men to obtain the means and facilities which she judges necessary for her purpose. Therefore, to ensure that her members may be enabled to lead moral and religious lives she has the right to insist on as much control over their education as she judges necessary. Over their religious education this right of control is direct. Over their instruction in secular knowledge she claims only an indirect right of control. Since the religious and moral character of her members depends intimately

[1] As, for instance, in the Third Lateran Council, and—to quote recent instances—in several passages of Leo XIII's encyclicals, such as *Sapientia Christiana*, *Militantis Ecclesiae*, and *Affari vos*. At one period, when some ecclesiastics sought to impose an obligation on parents to send their children to church schools, Pope Alexander III vindicated the liberty of parents, and strictly forbade that *any person* of good character and sufficient learning should be prevented from opening a school.

on the training given them in childhood, she has a strict right to insist on such control as will ensure that the spiritual welfare of her members shall not be jeopardised.

The Christian Revelation has set before men an infinitely higher end than would have been attainable without it (namely the eternal vision of God), and has made immensely greater the importance of the soul's salvation, and therefore of education, which has a vital effect on salvation. For this reason it has vastly increased the responsibilities, both of parents and of the state, in regard to education. The rights of parents to perform their primary functions are made more sacred and inviolable; while at the same time the rights of the state to perform its suppletive functions are also reinforced.

Such are the main outlines of Catholic doctrine on the right to educate. Some points need further elucidation.

The State's Right to Assist in Education

The state, as has been said, has the right to help parents; that is, it may by public money assist privately-owned schools, or it may place at parents' disposition schools of the kind they desire. No one could contest this. But does such a provision of public funds carry with it a right of management? Certainly not as regards private schools. As regards public schools, the question is disputed. Many writers deny such a right, holding that a government exceeds its proper functions when it establishes public schools to be worked under its control.[1] This view is supported by very many secular writers—even non-Catholics—who insist that the state is of its nature—and has been proved by history to be—as incompetent in the rôle of a schoolmaster as in that of a nurse. On the other hand, many Catholic writers have no difficulty in admitting the right of the state to manage its

[1] For instance, the writers in *Civiltà Cattolica, Etudes, Revue Thomiste*; and many authors, as Jansen, Godts, Moulart, Freppel, Chabin, Russo, Conway, Holaind, Higgins, etc.

own schools, on the assumption, of course, that it pays proper regard to the rights of parents and the Church.

As has been said above, the child has a strict right to a sufficient education, one which will fit him to lead a well-ordered Christian life. If his parents will not or cannot give him this, the state unquestionably has the right either to force them to do their duty or to perform that duty in their name. But only in their name; it has no immediate, but only a delegated, right to educate the child; therefore, it can give the Catholic child only that kind of education which his parents are bound to give.

The state may and should insist on its youth receiving a sufficient education. This, however, is an altogether different thing from saying that what is implied at present in the phrase "obligatory education," namely, the imparting of a certain minimum of book-knowledge, is within the ambit of the state's rights. Book-learning is no necessary part of the concept of education. Every state, however, at present insists on a certain amount of literary instruction. Is it justified in so doing? It may be justified on one or both of two grounds (corresponding to its two main functions); first, that every child in a modern civilized land has a strict right in justice[1] to some amount of book-learning—a right which the state may vindicate; and second, that the conditions of most modern countries are such that, without some measure of compulsory primary instruction, the general well-being of the community would be difficult of attainment.

Existing State Education Systems

This, however, does not mean that the system of obligatory instruction as it exists in many countries is defensible. For example, obligatory state-given instruc-

[1] Catholic authors (such as Bouquillon, Perin, Rothe, Sortais), in asserting this right, point out that it is not a universal one. There are many countries, even to-day, where ignorance of the three Rs is not a notable disadvantage.

tion is completely unjustifiable. Any monopoly of education is wrong, for it violates the right which is inherent in parents to choose the educators of their children. Such a monopoly was the policy of the French Revolutionary leaders, and afterwards of Napoleon, and it is the professed purpose of most partisans of the *Ecole Unique* movement in France. Nowhere does it actually exist to-day except in Russia and (as regards children of 6 to 10 years of age) in Germany. In this latter country, however, the system, though its principle is not defended by Catholic authorities, is tolerated, because in its application respect is had for the religious convictions of parents.

But, though state monopoly of education is rare, something approaching it is almost universal, namely, a legal obligation laid on parents to give a certain minimum of literary instruction to their children, but with the option of having them taught in state schools or in private schools (not in receipt of public money) or at home.

This system has many forms, some of them grievously unjust, others of them more or less tolerable. It is unjust in the highest degree where the state schools are conducted on the " lay " or " neutral " principle, a principle directly opposed to the educational ideals of Catholics—and of earnest non-Catholics as well. Vast numbers of families are thus forced to send their children to these lay schools, because they are forced to send them to some school and have no others. This is most often the case in country districts, but occurs in urban districts too, where denominational schools, dependent on private resources, cannot rival expensively endowed official institutions. This system is, therefore, as regards a large proportion of the people, a monopoly, and an evil monopoly at that, forcing an evil thing on religiously minded parents. What makes it still more unjust is that these parents are forced by the state to pay for a system obnoxious to them, and then are forced by their con-

sciences to pay over again for what they believe to be a proper type of education. France is the worst offender in this way, as her state schools, though neutral in theory, are largely anti-religious in fact.

Where the above system obtains, but with the modification that the state schools are denominational for parents who wish them so and lay for other parents, the principle of obligatory state education is far less objectionable. This is the system which, variously modified, exists in Belgium, Italy, Germany (for children over 10), England and Scotland. The system in Holland is a further improvement. There, though the state schools are "mixed" (though with separate denominational instruction), the state offers public funds to all privately owned schools over a certain size, only demanding in return reasonable guarantees as to courses, teachers' qualifications, material conditions, etc. Inferior to this system, though still fairly satisfactory, is the Irish system as it at present exists.

Dangers of State Instruction

From all this it is plain that obligatory instruction may mean very different things; some of them such that the Church has no option but to oppose and condemn them, others such as she can tolerate or even welcome. All Catholic writers, however, insist that it is always fraught with many grave dangers.

Evidently the gravest and commonest of these dangers is that of "lay" teaching. Wherever a nation comprises a considerable mixture of religious persuasions, or a considerable number of people without any religion, there is a great temptation, arising from a desire of economy and from a false conception of the proper place of religion in education, to adopt the principle of the Greatest Common Measure of religious belief, or to exclude religion altogether from the curriculum. Any system embodying such principles must be vigorously opposed by the Catholic Church, and is

generally opposed by the more religiously minded people of other churches.

Even where a government, in applying the principle of obligatory state education, respects the religious rights of parents and even where there is every human probability that succeeding administrations will do so too, all the dangers of the principle are not yet conjured. One such danger—and a serious one—is that the controlling functions involved in an obligatory education law may easily be pushed to excessive lengths, so as to impair the proper liberties which parents should enjoy in the government of their families.

This is a greater danger now than it would have been in past time. In the healthier conditions of ages ago the family was a compact social cell, largely autonomous, developing in its natural rulers a keen sense of responsibility, and therefore well adapted for the efficient discharge of its proper social functions. Modern economic and religious conditions have largely broken up this cellular organisation of society. A re-establishment of the old-time family life would do much to cure the evils of the modern world; but states rarely make any move in this direction; they adopt the—perhaps easier—method of themselves taking over the family functions—in education as in other things. There are at present whole classes of society—more particularly the slum classes in large towns—in which children are allowed by their parents to grow up without any kind of education—not to speak of the three Rs. The state, as we have seen, is justified in insisting that these children be cared for, and for this purpose adopts the method of forcing them to attend some school. But as regards districts or portions of the community, where no such grave lesion of children's rights calls for redress, the state in carrying out a law of obligatory instruction should keep within the limits prescribed by the nature of its functions in society.

The state is intended, not to supplant, but to supply

the functions of families; it has no right to interfere with parents in the performance of their duties except where it has serious grounds for belief that these duties are being neglected. A parallel case will illustrate the truth of this. The state's right to vindicate the claim of every child to a proper physical treatment is—at the very least—equal to its right to vindicate the child's claim to literary instruction. Yet it by no means follows that civil authorities have a right to seek positive evidence of suitable physical care being given to every child. If this were so, the state could send its officers at any time into any kitchen or bedroom or nursery throughout the whole country. No such right is claimed by any state; if claimed, it would quite properly be resented as an unbearable violation of private liberty.

There are, therefore, limits within which state supervision of education must confine itself. Of these limits no more exact definition can be given than the terms in which Pope Leo XIII defined the sphere of state action in a similar case; namely, that it must not go further than what is required for the remedying of evils and the avoidance of dangers (*Rerum Novarum*). Unfortunately, it is the tendency of officials in every land to transgress these limits. Officialdom always seeks to extend its authority beyond the borders of its proper field. Functionaries acquire a taste for ordering. They are inclined to imagine that, if their activities are necessary or useful in one place, they would be equally so everywhere else. Constantly, too, they have an idea that when an individual accepts public money—as, for instance, when he sends his children to a state school—he thereby forfeits his rights and liberties.

It is not, of course, meant that officials, acting within their proper sphere, should be remiss; nor that the state should not assure itself that the courses in state schools be useful to the individual children and to the interests of the country at large, and that state-paid teachers

do their work efficiently—though in the management of such schools programmes should not be too rigid, and care should be taken not to fetter teachers' initiative or trench on parents' liberty. Still less should there be in the administration of an obligatory education law any distinction on the ground of social position or wealth. What is meant is that the controlling and coercive measures involved in such a law should be exercised only when there is a real necessity for them.

To take one example, the matter of school attendance. If it be an ascertained fact that in certain districts parents neglect their children's education, then there is a cause for coercion. It may be the case that over all the countryside, or in all the towns, certain classes—generally the poorest—are guilty of such neglect; but most assuredly there are large classes in the community—even outside the well-to-do—about whom any suspicion of such neglect would be absurd. With regard to these, coercive or inquisitorial measures are quite uncalled-for and therefore unjustifiable. To compel the average middle-class parent, one of whose chief anxieties is the good education of his family, to report to the police whenever his child is kept at home by a tooth-ache, or to compel him to open his home to inquisitors coming to examine if the reasons for his child's absence be sufficient, is a pure waste of public money. The waste is all the more reprehensible as modern slum conditions are calling out for a better use of that money, for instance, in supplying food to starving children, or in building houses where children may have some chance of a decent up-bringing.

This kind of purposeless officialism can put forward no other possible plea for its justification than the protection of the child's right to a sufficient education; but there is just as much reason for imagining that a child of ordinary middle-class folk, attending a first-class private school, is being imperfectly educated as there is for imagining that his parents would not educate him without

police pressure. Why not therefore send inspectors to examine all children in private schools? Why not have them examine how the governess does her work? Why not require certificates from the foreign school where a child is being educated? All these things would be equally justifiable if the principle of obligatory education could be pushed without any reference to the proper limitation of all state action. Even in France, where the law expressly provides for the examination of primary pupils in their families or in private schools, a sense of the ridiculous prevents officials from carrying it out.

This is only one example of many possible dangers inherent in the principle of obligatory education, dangers serious enough in themselves, though less serious than those directly affecting religious and moral training. It was the existence of these dangers which induced the Irish bishops to take the stand they did against the Obligatory Education Bill of 1892. While they opposed the system of direct legal compulsion, they admitted and welcomed what they styled "indirect compulsion," that is, the removal of obstacles in the way of children's education and the taking over by the state of parents' responsibilities in cases where parents were unable to perform their duties or were grossly neglectful of them.

State Secondary Education

Though in all that has been said the reference has been mainly to primary education, the principles given apply to higher education as well—with, however, two distinctions. Firstly, Catholic authorities generally hold that parents are not bound in justice, though they may be in charity, to give higher education to their children; and secondly, rarely is it thought necessary for the general well-being that all citizens—and not merely some of them—should have a higher education. The *Einheitsehule* system of Germany—the only state which makes higher education obligatory on all—is applied with general regard for

ne religious wishes of parents, and is therefore tolerated y church authorities. Very different would be their ttitude if effect were given to the *Ecole Unique* proposals n France, which would mean enforced attendance at state nti-religious schools.

In regard to higher education, therefore, the state's unction is chiefly the favouring of private initiative; hat is, the helping of parents to give this education to heir children. This can be done in either of two ways: ounding public schools or subsidising private ones.

The State's Right to Supervise Schools

That the state has the right to help parents by subsidising private schools is unquestioned; it is exercised n most countries, not only where no public schools exist, ut also where they do.

The right to supervise the proper application of such ubsidies is also regarded generally as reasonable. Here, owever, it is important to remember what the proper pplication of such subsidies means. Their only justifiable urpose is to promote children's education according to arents' wishes. The conferring of money by the state rings with it no right to settle, independently of parents, he nature of the education given; this must be such as arents desire or willingly consent to. Public money nust not be used to buy up inviolable liberties.

This principle should govern the conditions attached o all school subsidies. Hence, courses when prescribed hould be elastic, so as to suit the various future careers f the young, though in these courses the state may nclude subjects it judges necessary for the general well-eing.[1] Similarly, the awarding of teaching diplomas nust be made on grounds of scholastic fitness, without "distinction of persons" or any non-professional conditions which would limit parents (or schools acting for

[1] The inclusion of Irish as an essential part of the Irish secondary programme nay be defended on this principle.

them) in the choice between capable teachers. Inspectors, too, should be large in their methods, leaving ample room for the free initiative of schools and parents. A light-reined control is specially necessary in Ireland owing to its system of inter-school public examinations—a system which is more apt to generate official interference with studies than the systems usual in other countries where schools enjoy more independence in issuing certificates of progress.

The above principles apply even where the state undertakes the whole or most of the schools' expenses; *a fortiori* it applies in Ireland, where state money covers only a small fraction of those expenses.

State help, with its partial control of private schools, has, no doubt, great advantages; but it has its dangers also, to which parents and authorities of schools and churches should be on the alert. Schools do—in fact, though not in right—come more and more under the power of the state the more money they accept from it; and such is the nature of officialdom that the greater its power, the more it will desire and the more imperative will be its action. On the other hand, the larger style of existence which state funds render possible for a school quickly becomes a necessity, and therefore a chain. The danger comes when the state's demands become excessive. Liberty becomes almost impossible to reconquer. To ask higher pensions from parents who have grown accustomed to low school-bills gives little hope; to cast off the chain and return to the old-time train of existence is unthinkable.

Only one method remains for keeping the danger at a safe distance, united action on the part of parents, or—better still, because easier of accomplishment—united action on the part of schools.

L. McKenna.

SUMMER LAND: THE VALHALLA OF THE SPIRITUALISTS

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

UNDER the title *Pheneas Speaks*[1] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has just published a volume of what purport to be the communications of discarnate spirits received through the mediumship of his wife, Lady Doyle. There are, of course, many hundreds of similar books in existence, some of which date back to the very beginnings of modern Spiritualism. But this latest manifesto from the other world has rather exceptional claims to consideration, for Sir Arthur (it will economise space to follow his own example and to designate him in future by his initials A. C. D.) seems to be treated by his spirit guides as the precursor, if not the chief comptroller, of a religious convulsion which is now almost immediately to transform and renovate the world in which we live. "Every sect is done for," Pheneas declares, "the people know too much. The churches have failed in the past, and people will turn to those who have been in direct spirit communication." And again, "Those who have stood in the way of God's truth are being swept aside. Soon, very soon, the light will be seen in the sky, and great will be the fear."

Apart from certain family messages which are of

[1] *Pheneas Speaks. Direct Spirit Communications in the Family Circle, reported by Arthur Conan Doyle, M.D., LL.D.* London: Simpkin Marshall and Co., 1927. Pheneas purports to be an Arabian sage who lived before the time of Abraham. He is the spirit guide of A. C. D.

little interest outside A. C. D's. domestic circle, the communicators lay stress upon only two points—first the astounding change now at hand, which will " stagger humanity " (p. 183) and " transfigure the earth's surface so that it will be as God originally intended it to be," (p. 199); and secondly the wondrous beauty and happiness of that existence in the spheres to which, according to the spiritualistic hypothesis, every decent man seems to pass at once on quitting this world. As regards the first of these topics the prophecies here printed are of the vaguest. A. C. D. very prudently commits himself to nothing definite concerning the time or the place or the manner in which the change will be brought about. He hints in his preface that much information on these points has been imparted from on high, but he tells us that it " must wait until its publication should seem advisable." The reader will not fail to appreciate the wisdom of this course. It is rarely " advisable " to make known the detail of prophecies until they have been fulfilled, for when they have once been set down in black and white, the forecast cannot so readily be adapted to fit the events which actually occur. On the other hand nothing is risked by expatiating on the glories of life in the spheres. This is the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns, and Pheneas, however much he romances, can never be refuted. Hence A. C. D. makes no scruple about publishing what has been disclosed by his various communicators concerning the Summer Land. Much of it is of a type familiar to all who have made even slight acquaintance with the mediumistic script of the past seventy-five years. Still it may be interesting to compare this recent presentment with the accounts which are derived from earlier sources and which we have no reason to suppose less trustworthy.

In *Pheneas Speaks* there are a number of references to the house already prepared, seemingly in the third sphere, for the residence of A. C. D. and his family. I

is his brother-in-law, the late Mr. E. W. Hornung,[1] a man personally well known to me, who in July, 1921, professed to announce from the other side that the future home "was a sweet place—full of charm. There is water near—and great peace." It must be confessed that though the subject recurs many times, we never advance much beyond this in the way of definiteness. For example, four years later Pheneas remarks : "About your home here all your friends are clamouring that I should tell you more about it. It is good that you know these things, for it sows little hope seeds in your mind. Your eyes have never seen any form or colour so lovely as your home—beauty, peace, sweetness, flowers, nature, sunshine, all vibrating with golden light. And it is full of the spirit of home. Peace is the keynote and love its counterpart ; inspiration is its body, and tenderness its heart, and joy its spirit. Christ's spirit is its driving force." This sounds nebulous enough and rather banal, but A. C. D. records that "here Pheneas seemed much moved—put out his arms with awe ; " that is to say, the medium, Lady Doyle, under the supposed control of Pheneas, made this gesture. The nearest approach to any precise detail that I can find dates from December 1925.

Your home in the other world is ready for you. The human forces which are to make it a perfect creation have been selected. There is a round small building in the grounds which is filled with exquisite coloured vibrations into which you go when you want soul's rejuvenation. It stands amid trees. There is a lovely terrace outside that home, with flowers everywhere. Flowers and creepers are all round the home—and there is an oblong pond round which coloured birds will come to drink. It is quite close opposite.

[1] Hornung, the author of *Raffles* and many other novels, was a very successful writer of fiction. His wife, Connie Doyle, A. C. D's. sister, always to her death remained a devout Catholic. She is obscurely referred to once or twice in the present book as "Cynthia," and is described as "in the grip of the Church " ; or again : "Poor Cynthia, so good and kind, but alas ! her Church is filling all her thoughts and her life to the exclusion of all other ties."

The old Catholic description of "Jerusalem my happy home" based on the Apocalypse, was at least frankly metaphorical.

> Thy walls are made of precious stones,
> Thy bulwarks diamond square,
> Thy gates are of right orient pearl,
> Exceeding rich and rare.
>
> Thy turrets and thy pinnacles
> With carbuncles do shine;
> Thy very streets are paved with gold,
> Surpassing clear and fine.

This imagery, if over-luxuriant, was intelligible and the swing of the rhythm appealed to all. Does A. C. D. think that Pheneas has improved upon the conception of the Churches by substituting—"coloured vibrations" and an "oblong pond" over the way?

The curious thing is that the author of the book seems himself to find these descriptions of the life to come rather flat and boring. Pheneas more than once reproaches him for his apathetic attitude as regards the promised joys of the other world. As late as September 28, 1926, he remonstrates vigorously: "You must take a real interest in your future home. Otherwise those preparing it lose heart."

I quote this phrase as an illustration of the inconsistencies which abound even in the printed selection of communications now before us. Over and over again we are assured that in the Summer Land "nothing ever jars," "there are no cross currents," "we do not tire, we get rest sitting among the flowers," "all is peace." Nevertheless the workers, it seems, "lose heart" if their efforts are not appreciated, and the denizens of the third sphere are apt to get "furious" (p. 57) with the persecutors of the cause of Spiritualism on earth. Moreover Pheneas, described as a "very high spirit" who died thousands of years ago and who has presumably been

progressing upward ever since, is found complaining : " I am so tired ; why am I so tired to-night " (p. 91) ; also he " seems unhappy," and on another occasion he loses his temper and is so cross (p.139) that he finds it necessary to apologise afterwards. Again we learn that he is sometimes much exhausted with his visits to earth and that " he goes back to his beloved land and has to rest " (p. 162). The whole presentment of this exalted personage who is so near to Christ and at the same time so tremendously interested in A. C. D., his wife (" the dear medium ") and his four children, who seems according to his own account to be director-general of earth activities, ranging the world from China to Peru, while always breathlessly overcharged with moral platitudes which fly from him on the smallest provocation like sparks from a Leyden jar, is utterly unreal. His name, I am sure, ought to be Chadband not Pheneas.

A more ordinary communicator, " Lily," a deceased friend of Lady Doyle's, only appears rarely, but she is distinctly less sententious and more matter-of-fact than the Arabian gentleman who fills the title rôle. Still even she has her moments of rhapsody. In October 1922, it appears that A. C. D. asked her : " Shall we go to America to spread this teaching ? " Her reply was : " Go, and God's blessing go with you every mile of the way," and she adds : " Never fear. All will be arranged for the best for you all. You are ambassadors for God, and humanity, in the world ; so never worry about the trifles." But in answering another question, " What do you do in your world ? " Lily touches matters which are of more practical interest.

" We develop," she says, " our gift for music, and we look after the orphan children, loving and mothering those whose hearts have been starved on earth. Far, far more to do here than on the old grey earth. Nothing in people round ever jars. It makes everything happier and more complete."

Then after speaking of the flowers and scents of her own spirit home, she says in reply to the question "Can you see other homes?"

> No, it would spoil the peace if we could. Nature only sometimes one wants. Every home is an oasis, as it were. Beyond is wonderful scenery and other sweet homes full of dear sweet, bright people, full of laughter, from the mere fact of living in such wonderful surroundings . . . . We have rooms as on earth, but so much lovelier. The colours are so much daintier and the fabrics so much more delicate.

If nothing jars, why should it spoil the peace if one could see other homes? And surely this oasis idea, presumably some sort of patriarchal arrangement in family groups, suggests rather serious difficulties. Even in this world we are familiar enough with the problems created by the children of divorced or much re-married parents. But I forbear to press the point, which might lead me to matters which are too personal.

On the great food question, one communicator when asked "Have you food over there?" answers: "Not in your sense but much nicer. Such lovely essences and wonderful fruits, and other things besides, which you don't have on earth."

In accord with this Pheneas also states: "We don't have meat here," and he goes on to announce that even on this earth of ours vegetarianism is soon about to prevail. "Comparatively few more animals will be sacrificed."

But the most noteworthy of the many puzzles which are suggested by these descriptions of life in the spheres is the question of occupation. The spirits all seem to be so very busy; but what do they do? E. W. Hornung is asked: "Is your present work literary?" To which from the other side he answers vaguely: "Yes, of a kind. It is more interesting. I prefer it to my work in the world. It is so much more vital. It really counts." On the other hand when Delane, Editor of *The Times*, purports to communicate, the question is put to him: "Do you

edit a paper now ? " He replies : " There is no need here. We know everything. It is like wireless in the air, and all so much bigger and larger and so splendid. It is *great* this life." A young doctor killed in the war says : " I go on with my medical work, but it is much more vital, and means much more to me now. I am helping some on your plane. At Guy's Hospital there is a good man whom I impress with my greater knowledge."

But medical studies in a land in which everyone is restored to relative youth and no disease is known, must be somewhat lacking in point. And if all the doctors formerly deceased, from Hippocrates and Galen downwards, are engaged in impressing with their greater knowledge the doctors who are still living, there must either be a good many veterans who have nobody to impress, like the " poor lion " who hadn't got a Christian, or the present generation of practitioners must certainly be in danger of becoming bewildered through the multiplicity of their spirit guides. Moreover there is the complication of " spirit-healing," which would seemingly tend to eliminate the medical profession altogether, but which the same communicator declares to be " great—ever so great." " If only," he sighs, " the doctors would have open minds, and receive this great truth and knowledge."

It will be seen that there are a good many inconsistencies in these descriptions, even if we do not travel outside the pages of the book itself. But the moment we set out to compare them with the hundreds of equally authoritative statements received through other mediums, we find that there is not a single particular here made prominent which is not flatly contradicted by one or other of the rival seers. Take for example the home prepared for A. C. D. and his family to which so much attention is devoted. One would infer from the details given that the process of construction occupied several years and that a number of friends took part in the work, who would " lose heart " if their efforts were not appre-

ciated. With this view would agree the statement of Raymond Lodge that he lived in a house built of bricks, that there were trees and flowers, and that the ground was solid;[1] and also the communications of Claude Kelway Bamber, where we read of houses in the next world as "built by bricklayers and designed by architects."[2] On the other hand seventy-five years ago one of the earliest and sanest of the apologies for spiritualism reports that the dead son of the author, when asked if the spirits in his entourage lived in houses, replied: "We are in open space; our dwelling is immensity."[3] And this also is evidently the conception that Dr. Eugene Crowell derived from his extensive acquaintance with mediumistic utterances, when he writes: "Spirits sleep as do mortals. They have no beds, but repose on a velvety kind of grass."[4] None the less the view which of all others has perhaps been most generally favoured by spiritualistic writers is that which stands thus expressed in a work of the same class:—

> In this Summer Land you can picture us surrounded by the most beautiful scenery, in an absolutely perfect climate, where every intellectual and spiritual desire is gratified, and with homes that we fashion exactly to suit our taste. You who love to design and beautify a house are, in your world, met by endless worries and difficulties to get everything just as you want it. But here we breathe forth the desire and the thing is created. And so much of our surrounding in this Homeland is the result of how we lived in the earth life.[5]

Even on spiritualistic principles, I can see no way of

[1] *Raymond* by Sir Oliver Lodge, 6th edition, pp. 184 and 198.

[2] *Claude's Book*, edited by Mrs. Kelway Bamber, with a preface by Sir Oliver Lodge, p. 20.

[3] Adin Ballou, *Spirit Manifestations*, English edn. 1853, p. 102.

[4] E. Crowell, *Primitive Christianity and Modern Spiritualism*, New York, Vol. II., p. 299.

[5] *Speaking Across the Border-Line.* Being letters from a Husband in Spirit Life to his Wife on Earth, by F. Heslop, with a commendatory note from Sir Oliver Lodge, 5th Edn. p. 81. Mrs. Heslop must not, of course, be confused with the late Professor Hyslop of Columbia University, formerly Secretary of the American Society for Psychical Research.

reconciling these utterances, for they refer to souls in the same stage of development. If A. C. D. when he arrives in Summer Land has only to conceive in thought the home he wishes for himself and it will at once be created, why should his family and friends on the other side spend their energies for years in adorning the grounds with " a round small building filled with coloured vibrations and an oblong pond just opposite ? " Lady Doyle may in the end prefer her vibrations plain, not coloured, and may wish to move the pond to a distance ; whereupon apparently she has only to conceive the thought or express the wish and, as in the Arabian Nights, the transformation will be effected in the twinkling of an eye.

Then there is the great question of the spheres. If anyone wishes to obtain precise information on this matter in compendious form, I would commend him to the work entitled *Spirit Intercourse* by Mr. J. Hewat McKenzie, now Principal of " the British College of Psychic Science " in Bayswater, London, and an ardent ally of A. C. D. The subject is treated with the precision of a Guide-Book advertisement. Thus :—

Third Sphere.

The family sphere, commonly called the Summer Land, 1,350 miles from earth ; light, 100 to 110 degrees. Pet animals and birds are most numerous on this plane. Flowers and fruit in rich luxuriance ; habitations interspersed with gardens ; houses built in brick and also stone. This is the principal sphere of children, where they receive their education on arriving from earth.[1]

This is the whole account. Now I have no wish to be hypercritical, but may I point out that these geographical statistics have presumably been printed, as official reports are wont to say, " subject to revision " ? As far back as 1855 when Professor Robert Hare, the distinguished chemist of Pennsylvania University, published his *Experimental Investigation of the Spirit Manifestations*,

[1] *Spirit Intercourse*, New York, 1917, p. 203.

this illustrious convert to the new movement learned upon good discarnate authority that "the spirit world lies between sixty and one hundred and twenty miles from the terrestrial surface, and that the whole intermediate space, including that immediately over the earth, the habitation of mortals, is divided into seven concentric regions, called spheres."[1] According to this, therefore, even the seventh sphere is not more than 120 miles distant from the earth's surface. In 1875 Dr. Crowell, as the result of "frequent and intimate communication with my spirit friends," decided that this third sphere was 160 miles from the earth and 100 miles above the second sphere," whereas Mr. McKenzie, as we have seen, in 1917, states, with the added impressiveness of diagrams drawn to scale, that the third sphere or Summer Land begins at a distance of 1,350 miles from earth and is itself 1,500 miles high, while he adds that the seventh sphere stretches into space more than 35,500 miles away from our planet. These estimates are not very concordant, but they may figure as harmony itself as compared with the dogmatic pronouncement of Andrew Jackson Davis, that the Summer Land "is a solid belt of land extending above the earth two-thirds of the distance from the sun and some seventy millions of miles wide."[2] Seeing that Davis, the seer of Poughkeepsie, highly belauded by A. C. D. in his *History of Spiritualism*, had himself invented the Summer Land, he really ought to be allowed to know where it is situated.

But can anything be stranger than the acceptance by Spiritualists in the middle of the nineteenth century of an old-world cosmogony which had its ultimate *raison d'être* in the geocentric ideas of Ptolemy and Pythagoras? That this conception of the spheres should form part of the familiar imagery of such medieval writers as Chaucer or Wycliff we can well understand. Science

[1] Hare, *Experimental Investigation*, 5th Edition, New York, 1858, p. 87.
[2] See Davis's *Morning Lectures*, 1864, pp. 349-350.

was a sealed book to them ; but as Professor Skeat explains in a note to a passage in one of Chaucer's poems :

> The old astronomy imagined nine spheres revolving round the central stationary earth. Of the seven innermost, each carried with it one of the seven " planets," viz. : the Moon, Venus, Mercury, Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn ; the eighth sphere, that of the fixed stars, had a slow motion from west to east, round the axis of the zodiac, to account for the precession of the equinoxes ; whilst the ninth or outermost sphere, called the *primum mobile* or the sphere of first motion, had a diurnal revolution from east to west carrying everything with it.

That is how the idea of the seven spheres originated, and we are asked to accept these desperate hypotheses, elaborated by the Greek mathematicians in their gropings after truth more than two thousand years ago and only perpetuated by the astrologers of the Wallenstein epoch, as a serious contribution to the problem of human survival after death. Pheneas in September, 1926, so A. C. D. informs us, was still " very anxious to get through some teaching about the spheres which had never before been given to humanity." This teaching has not been incorporated in the present book. We need have no quarrel with its author when he declares that in the lowest spheres, in which men of evil life are detained, " the surroundings are horrible." But Pheneas improves the occasion by insisting that in these regions :

> It is deadly silent, and dark. The conditions are indeed terrible. There are many ecclesiastics there. They are shown pictures of the lives of those whom they have influenced for evil by getting in the way of God's message [*i.e.*, by opposing Spiritualism]. That is among their punishments.

The opinion that the lower spheres are planes of suffering and self-discipline is no doubt widely spread, but even here there is no unanimity. In the collection of spirit utterances called *The Voices*, by Admiral Usborne Moore, we may read :—

> There are seven spheres. The idea that the lower spheres

are uncomfortable is all nonsense. When I passed over I had the choice of going to higher spheres or remaining among earth conditions. I chose the latter.

Even Adin Ballou's son in 1852, says in answer to the question: "Have you seen any spirits that were really unhappy?" "I have seen those not as happy as myself, but none that might be termed *unhappy*. Conscience is a fearful tormentor, and spirits, even after they reach the fourth sphere, are not supremely happy *at all times*." A reply which again conflicts with A. C. D's. presentment of the situation.

One of the moot points which continually recur in connection with all these so-called spirit communications is the question of reincarnation. The reader of *Pheneas Speaks* would be forced to conclude that A. C. D's. discarnate visitors knew nothing of it.[1] Pheneas who left the earth some five thousand years ago had apparently never been reincarnated in all that time. Nevertheless he expresses high approval of a book of spirit nessages called *The Witness*, and *The Witness*, like *Claude's Book*, is saturated with reincarnation. For example the communicator "Tiny" says to his mother:—

> It is awfully funny to think that I haven't been an Englishman always, but I don't mind that. I wonder if you have ever been a man! Well, Mother, you needn't feel so shocked. It does happen, and I don't mind knowing that I was once a woman.[2]

Similarly Claude tells his mother:—

> In Egypt we were brother and sister, I was told, and were attached to the court of the Pharaoh, a sort of lady and gentleman in waiting . . . . I saw you a tall woman with a good figure and an upright carriage in a purple robe and overdress trimmed with gold and a sort of cloak of some skin falling at your back, your forehead bound low with a fillet of gold with hieroglyphics on it. You looked jolly fine, mums![3]

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[1] Unless indeed a reference on p. 134 to "those who are to have a second chance on this plane" should be so interpreted.

[2] *The Witness*, by Jessie Platts, p. 49

[3] *Claude's Book*, p. 36.

This sort of thing may be very gratifying to the bereaved mother who publishes it, but it leaves the ordinary reader cold, and it certainly is not evidential. I may add that a page or two further on Claude informs his mother that they were both of them at one time young men, though even then their lives were linked together.

Belief in reincarnation has been explicitly, even fiercely, repudiated by many Spiritualists, the famous medium, D. D. Home, foremost among the number. A. C. D., though he does not refer to the matter in this book, has stated elsewhere that " the balance of evidence shows that reincarnation is a fact, though not necessarily a universal one." Has he ever realised, I wonder, how utterly inconsistent the doctrine is with that peaceful and patriarchal family-homestead arrangement which is depicted in *Pheneas Speaks?* If the same individual may have been, in a score of previous existences, husband, brother, wife, daughter, master, slave or concubine to a multitude of different people, in what character is he, she, or it, to settle down ? And if there are still future existences upon the earth plane to be looked forward to, what becomes of the finality which is such an essential element of the peaceful atmosphere of the Summer Land ?

Further we are here inevitably brought into contact with the sex question, which, in such an exact reproduction of earth conditions as Pheneas depicts, cannot be ignored. I do not propose to discuss the matter except to point out that while on the one hand Mr. Hewat McKenzie and many others declare that " there is no such thing in spiritual spheres as marriage," the intelligences who purport to communicate from the other side do not always endorse this view. In the book *Thy Son Liveth*, printed in 1918, one of the War victims holds converse with his mother, telling her :—

> It appears that everyone is or will be married. The twain shall be one spirit. I judge from this statement that marriage

is consummated here; [and then a little later] I got your wire calling my attention to the scriptural statement that in heaven there is neither marriage nor giving in marriage . . . .Love and marriage are certainly in bud and flower here; I can see this fact with my own eyes.

The fact is, I submit, that the whole conception of the Summer Land, as soon as one attempts to make any study of the communications which describe it, resolves itself into a tissue of contradictions. The book before us overflows with denunciations of "theological egotism," of dogma, and of "the Church which prates of Christ," and yet readers are called upon to accept all this fabric of inconsistencies, of prophecies and of threats, as if it were gospel truth. It has never occurred to A. C. D. that in the Catholic Church there has at least been unity of teaching, based upon a tradition of nineteen centuries, and that it was those who lived with the historical Christ who were the first to denounce heresy, to preach the doctrine of the Cross,[1] and to proclaim the punishment of sin. It seems just now to be the fashion among communicating spirits to claim familiarity with Christ. Kingsley, A. C. D's. son, has seen Christ; "Tiny" in *The Witness* tells his mother how "Our Master Christ sent for me the other day and told me He was proud of me;" while Pheneas, of course, poses as the confidant of all Christ's plans for that marvellous renovation of earth life which we are informed is now imminent. Our Lord warned us long ago against "false Christs and false prophets," and their signs. Their Summer Land is but the baseless fabric of a vision which ere long will fade and "leave not a rack behind." HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] Pheneas professes to revere the person of Christ, but to him and to A. C. D. the Cross is foolishness as it was to the gentiles. "In the new world," we are told (p. 93) "the Cross idea will have passed. The new religion will be all beauty and sweetness." None the less, by one of those astounding inconsistencies of which these script-books are full, Pheneas says (p. 204): "If you make the sign of the Cross on your forehead when you lie down to sleep, you help the good spirits." A. C. D. comments, "you seem to have some very R.C. ideas." To which Pheneas replies: "Yes, they know the signs, but not always the spirit."

IRELAND AND WALES IN THE HISTORY OF JURISPRUDENCE

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Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages. By T. P. Ellis. Two vols. (Clarendon Press. 1926. 80*s.* net).

MORE and more, the study of the history of past ages becomes interested in the ways of living and thinking that were characteristic of peoples, rather than in the fortunes of their rulers; and in this tendency men of good will would gladly recognise, if they could, an abatement of that wave of state-worship which, especially since the Renaissance, has prevailed in European politics and has worked so much harm to European civilisation, imperilling its very existence, as not a few in our own time have apprehended. No one who, from the standpoint of our time, endeavours to take a view of world-history can fail to observe, almost with wonder, the course of that remarkable development which we call European civilisation. Out of the dim prehistoric background arise first the great Oriental empires. Then, pressing in upon these, come the Horse-owners of the Steppes, originally, it seems, a single community with a distinctive language. Apparently from eastern Europe, the ancient Scythia, they radiate eastward, southward, westward, to Northern India, to the Mediterranean, to the Atlantic; and so we call them Indo-Europeans and their language or group of kindred languages Indo-European. Their movement of expansion is already more than 3,000 years old and is still going on. If it were a mere geographical expansion, it would be nothing exceptional. It has been accompanied,

apparently from the outset, by an almost continuous development of that complex which we call civilisation.

Therein lies a problem. Out of a community of shepherds and husbandmen (for there is clear evidence of their having been tillers of the land before their earliest dispersion) arises a group of nations which reach the highest achievements in civic life, in industry and commerce, in arts and literature, in jurisprudence, in philosophy. These achievements cannot be explained as the results of any gradual evolution. Though no German of the time of Aristotle was actually capable of producing the works of Aristotle, who will deny the potential capability or pretend to think that a brain-power equal to that of the Greeks had not yet "evolved" among the peoples to the north of the Danube? We cannot escape the conviction that the "Indo-European" invaders of the older Mediterranean and West-Asiatic civilisations brought with them a type of civilisation, that is to say, a way of living and thinking of their own, which was already rich and potent. Their later eminence does not conceal from us the fact that their old native civilisation was as backward in the arts as almost any "savage" people now extant. And so we are forced to seek the sources of their mental readiness and great capacity for development, also of their conspicuous power of resistance towards the germs, internal and external, of decadence and corruption, in their domestic and social tradition and institutions.[1] However rude and simple may have been their ancient manner of life, we are led to infer in it some elemental and generative power. It does not surprise us when, at the height of Rome's imperial greatness, the historian Tacitus recognises deeper and surer elements of strength when he writes *De Moribus Germanorum.*

[1] It may be said, in qualification, that Christianity came opportunely to save them from decadence. On the other hand, is not what we may call the "preparedness" of the Indo-Europeans as conspicuous in their reception of Christianity as in their development of secular culture and civilisation?

We cannot recover a satisfying picture of the old Indo-European civilisation from Greek literature. Already in the Homeric poems the Greeks are dominated by Oriental city life, of which their northern ancestors knew nothing. Rome, in a later age, remains far more primitive, and the Roman *familia* was perhaps the most perfect survival from prehistoric Indo-European civilisation. Was this survival the source of Roman discipline and thus of Roman power ? But Rome had passed under the domination of Etruria, and emerged to encounter the influences of Greece. For clearer evidence, we have to look outside of the Roman Empire among the unsubjected European nations. Among these, ancient Ireland, in a rich native tradition, in a literature of great antiquity, but still more relevantly in the early books of Irish law, becomes a principal witness. In the face of that modern Celtophobia which is ingrained in English education and in English educated thinking, which is manifest in the English education of this country and its effects, which shows itself even in German historical scholarship, it is well to stress the truth that the study of ancient Irish civilisation does not serve merely to throw light on Irish history or on the history of the Celts, but is an essential part of the study of European civilisation. Especially valuable in this branch of inquiry are the ancient Irish laws. Of these we have five published volumes and a number of detached tracts in various serial publications. The five volumes contain English translations which are gravely misleading even in fundamental respects. They contain also voluminous editorial introductions which are worse than worthless. The editions are largely responsible for the discouragement of study and for the fostering of certain radical misconceptions which are exemplified in the work under review. In these days, it is gratifying to see competent scholarship engaged on the study of the Irish laws, and we may hope that the example of Thurneysen will be worthily followed.

It would not be just to represent Irish law, even in the oldest lawtracts, which date from the seventh century, as a repository of unmixed Indo-European tradition. Celtic Ireland contained a large element of early West-European population. There is good evidence that among the pre-Celtic element the constitution of the family, the basis of the social structure, had been "matriarchal" or rather matrilinear, in contrast with the Indo-European patriarchal family, which continued to exist apparently in its archaic form under Roman law. In Ireland, as in Wales, the family derives its form from the patriarchal family; succession is in the male line; genealogies are records of paternal descent, with only incidental mention of maternal ancestry. The *patria potestas*, however, is very much limited, and the legal status of married women is much higher than it was, until our own time, under English law. Here it may be permissible to see an influence of association with pre-Celtic institutions. Further, two centuries of Christianity in Ireland precede the written record of Irish law, and, even if tradition were silent on the point, we should expect in our earliest written laws a modifying influence from the Church. It is curious to observe that both Ireland and Wales retained a civil law of marriage which was not regulated by the ecclesiastical law. On the other hand, slavery, which existed in Ireland on a large scale until St. Patrick's time, is no longer an institution of Irish law in the seventh century—it was revived later as a result of the Norse commerce in captives—and the tradition of the jurists ascribes the abolition of slavery to St. Patrick himself.[1]

Moreover, ancient Irish law is not purely traditional

[1] Ancient Laws of Ireland III 30, where the words of the text, *Soerfaid mugo, moaichfid dochenel*, are translated: "The enslaved shall be freed, plebeians shall be exalted." They mean: "He shall free slaves, he shall magnify kins of low degree," being a continuation of the prophecy placed in the mouth of the druid Matho and interrupted in the text by two sentences which can be shown to be interpolated. St. Patrick's attitude towards the enslavement of Christians is made clear enough in his Epistle.

custom. Its custodians and teachers in heathen times had been the druids, called *filid* (poets) and *fáithi* (prophets) in the Irish preface to *Senchus Mór* and in *Córus Béscna*.[1] From them came, in unbroken succession, the professional jurists (*brithemuin*, "brehons") of Christian times. By these traditional customary law had been reduced to a uniform code for the whole of Ireland and arranged in sequence and in chapters. The existence of a uniform code appears all the more remarkable when we consider that the country contained more than eighty distinct and separate jurisdictions, each with its own body of citizens who had not full citizenship elsewhere. The power to effect uniformity and arrangement in a body of customary law implies a certain degree of legislative power, and no student of ancient Irish law can doubt that it has undergone a process of refinement which removes it far from the condition of a record of customary observances. The juristic legends point frequently to provisions of law originating in particular judgments pronounced by jurists of celebrity. To object that the legends are not history would be wide of the mark, since they suffice to prove that to the minds of the jurists, from whom the law was received, law might originate in part from juristic legislation.

If ancient Irish law is thus no mere record of primitive customary law, it is none the less a peculiarly European development. The modifications introduced by Christianity are, I think, for the most part not difficult to distinguish. There is no authentic trace of the influence of Roman law, nor do I know of any evidence that Roman law had any interest for the Irish jurists. They were, however, expressly interested in the laws of Israel, and may have borrowed from them even in matters outside of the relations between the Church and the civil community.[2] It is a matter for special research, how far

[1] A.L.I., i 16, iii 30.

[2] *Recht littre*, "the Law of the Letter," is the juristic name of the Hebrew law, derived from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

ancient Irish law may show influences of the early Canon law.

Inspection of the map convinced Quatrefages that the northwestern coast of Ireland was the place where he should find a primitive population in the ethnographic sense. The same sort of *a priori* reasoning has brought a succession of investigators in historical jurisprudence to the study of the Irish laws or rather of the very defective translations, their minds obsessed with the notion of finding something or everything primitive and archaic.[1] The pioneer of these primitivists was Sir Henry Maine. Expecting to find evidence of tribal communism and not finding it, he accuses the Irish jurists of "a bias towards private as distinguished from collective ownership." Joyce, who knew the published material well, adopted formally the primitivist theory of tribal ownership, but explained it away in effect.[2] His treatment of the modern doctrine of an ancient Irish "clan system" or "tribal system" was precisely similar.[3] His attitude is not unlike that of the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff.

Vinogradoff looks for a tribal system in the background of historical jurisprudence. If "clan system" or "tribal system" have any meaning to the reading public, they mean an organisation of society in political groups, such that the basis of grouping is a theory of descent in each group from a common ancestor. Vinogradoff traces the spreading zones of kinship for the Indo-Europeans from the patriarchal household to the joint family, then to wider extensions of the bond of consanguinity, until he reaches the stage of the political

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[1] The results of this dogmatic preconception are sometimes amusing. Richey, editor of vols. iii and iv of A.L.I., was a disciple of the primitivist school. Finding contrary evidence, which he sets out under four heads (iv, xciv), in a certain law-tract, he comes to the conclusion that the tract "would appear to be of a very modern date and not to be free from the influence of the principles of English Law." It is enough to say that the tract in question (iv 240) is in Old Irish.

[2] See my *Celtic Ireland*, ch. ix.

[3] *Celtic Ireland*, ch. x.

community, which he calls the "tribal federation."[1] How does he declare this to be formed?

> In the process of evolution [the several clans or kindreds] had to combine with *other clans or kindreds* in tribal federations. This growth of larger groups can be clearly observed in many countries. In Albania, for example, *the system of social organisation* is founded on the alliance of a number of clans in the larger body of *the tribe*.[2]

What essential difference is there between this "system" and the structure of a modern state? The basis of the so-called "tribe," so described, is political combination not consanguinity. The joint family can be regarded as an extension of the household; it is the household, so to speak, of a deceased but not very remote ancestor. The clan is a further extension of the same unit, its bond of union, its principle of cohesion, being descent from a somewhat distant ancestor. But this principle does not govern the formation and cohesion of the "tribal federation" or "tribe." With Vinogradoff, as with Joyce, the tribe, in the ordinary sense of the term, contrives to evaporate. Its constituent units are consanguinous groups. The constituent units of a modern state are individual citizens. Vinogradoff's tribe is no more an evolution or extension of the family or kin than a modern state is an evolution or extension of the citizen. His description of the tribe may be regarded as an acknowledgment that he has not found, as a principle of the primitive political organisation of the Indo-Europeans, the sort of thing which the terms "tribal system" and "clan system" signify to people in general. It is certainly not to be found in the Ancient Laws of Ireland. Though the word *tuath* is sometimes rendered by "tribe" in the translations, nowhere in the texts has the slightest indication been found that the political community so named was thought to be based on a common ancestry. We may note accordingly that

[1] *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, vol. I., ch. v, to ch. x.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 344.

Vinogradoff does not regard the kingship as an evolution of the patriarchate :—

> Throughout the tribal arrangements of different nationalities, we constantly find, as rudimentary forms of political authority, kingship, the council of the elders, and the assembly of warriors. It is difficult to establish a chronological order in the development of these institutions. In any case, *tribal kingship is not the most ancient.*[1]

Though ancient Irish literature, including the Laws, has not revealed any consciousness of the existence of a "clan system," the doctrine is not confined to the primitivist school; it has become popular in Ireland, and has even been set up as a matter for national pride. It is clearly a doctrine of modern growth, and I had long been inclined to trace its origin to Sir Walter Scott and other romantic writers on themes of the Scottish Highlands. In answer to the question, "What were the leading features in the normal organisation and management of a clan"? Vinogradoff quotes at large from *Waverley.*[2] I do not know whether there has been any serious investigation as to the identity of the political following and the kin of a Highland chieftain. The Scottish chieftainries were decadent not primitive forms of the earlier Celtic polity as described in the Irish lawtracts.

Mr. Ellis,[3] though in some respects he shows his independence, resembles Dr. Joyce in his theoretical adhesion to the primitivist lead. The title of his work would have been more adequate to the content if the word "tribal" had been omitted. He discloses no more of a tribal system in Welsh law than can be discovered in Irish law. When Vinogradoff (ch. viii) undertakes a description of "the Welsh Clan," we find that the so-called clan is merely a small extension of the Irish *fine* or joint family : "It is governed by certain strict rules of relationship, which form two inner circles : a narrower,

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 351. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 308. [3] *Op. cit.* at the head of this article.

limited to second cousins or the fourth generation, and a wider which stretches to the seventh and to the ninth generation."[1] The narrower circle is identical with the Irish *derbfhine*, but the wider zone of the Irish joint family extended only to the sixth generation. The *derbfhine* ("true kin") or joint family extending to second cousins was thus an institution common to Ireland and Wales, and must be regarded as the prehistoric Celtic form of the joint family. Irish law recognised no nexus except common citizenship between persons outside of the fifth generation in descent from the common ancestor. How different is the joint family thus constituted from the ordinary conception of a clan! If the Irish law or the Welsh law of the joint family were to be re-enacted now, its principal effect would be to form the living descendants of a greatgrandfather into a sort of "credit society," and otherwise it would not produce any transformation in the body politic.

Mr. Ellis ranges himself with the primitivists in ascribing certain features of Welsh land tenure to a prehistoric nomadism, and even suggests that the Celtic ancestors of Welsh freemen were once nomadic inhabitants of Britain (I, 215). Sir John Rhys thought that the Bronze Age in Britain and Ireland began with an early immigration of Celts, whom he called "Goidelic." This theory has collapsed, and it is now recognised that we have no reason to suppose the Celts to have reached Britain until the La Tène period of the Iron Age. But the Bronze Age inhabitants of Britain and Ireland were not nomads. The necropolis of Sliabh na Caillighe, the tombs of the Boyne Valley, the stone-built town of Ceathramha Chaol, all described in Macalister's *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, bespeak settled communities in the rugged uplands as well as in the fertile plains. True, we cannot rightly simplify the history of any race or

[1] p. 309. In this numeration the common ancestor is reckoned as the first generation.

any region into a regular progression from lower to higher stages. In Central Asia, owing to climatic changes, vast regions once peopled by settled communities became fit only for nomadic pasturage and have become the typical land of nomads during the ages of history. We must distinguish clearly between nomadic and purely migratory stages. The Irish who came into Wales during the decline of the Roman power, the Britons of the North who came in after them and largely displaced them, the Europeans who peopled the American continent, exhibit the migratory condition but are not to be classed as nomads. They came forth from settled communities and formed settled communities where they went. The evidence of language shows that to find the nomadic condition among the Indo-Europeans—except in so far as it may have been forced on some of them by climatic changes—we have to go back beyond the time of their dispersion.[1] Their ancestors, dwelling together in the ancient homeland, cultivated the earth with the plough drawn by the pair of oxen yoked together. It asks too much of our imagination to argue that rights to land in medieval Wales arose out of a social condition which we do not know to have existed previously during several thousands of years among the ancestors of the medieval Welsh.

Mr. Ellis, adopting the tribal terminology of the primitivist school, explains it away even more thoroughly than Dr. Joyce does. With Joyce the main "tribe," which he identifies with the *tuath*, "having a complete political and legal administration," consists of so many "clans," the clan consists of "septs," the sept of families. Of this classification the jurists, who had an extraordinary fondness for classifying, knew nothing. Mr. Ellis in like manner (ch. vi) arranges the Welsh community in tribes, clans, subclans, and households, but finds no

[1] Vinogradoff, I., 220–223.

corresponding terminology in Welsh law, therefore no such classification.

> The term *cenedl* [=Irish *cenél*] had in Welsh Law no uniform meaning: its fundamental connotation was "relationship" or "kinship," and as such [it] was used on different occasions in the sense of tribe, clan, and sub-clan, and to express different grades of relationship or kinship . . . . . The Welsh Laws have little to say about the "tribes," *for the reason that the law deals with legal rights and obligations*, and the legal rights and obligations incidental to "tribal" membership were few. Tribal rights and obligations were social and military rather than legal.

In other words, Welsh law was not cognisant of a social organisation based on a "tribal system." Rights and obligations which were social and military but not legal cannot well be regarded as forming part of the social structure, especially under a state of law which tended to make expressly legal every right and every obligation which had become effective by custom. Mr Ellis repeatedly speaks of the tribe and its proposed subdivisions as "organisms," but it does not appear that these classes or zones of kindred were felt to exist for any organic purpose except, like the subdivisions of the *fine* in ancient Ireland, the determination and allocation of succession to assets and liabilities.[1] Doubtless, the fact that for each freeman normally there existed a zone of kinsmen who had the prospect of gaining by his gains and losing by his defaults or illegalities must have caused a lively consciousness of kinship within such legal zones, the "concentric circles" of Vinogradoff's phrasing. The joint property (communal in this sense only), which might benefit or suffer, stands out as a recognised entity in Irish law. It is named *fintiu* (genitive *finted*), variously rendered by the translators[2]—it may be called the "kin-estate."

[1] Succession not only in case of decease but in any other case of effective voidance. In Irish law, the liabilities of an insolvent were assessed on his legal kin in the same proportion as they would have shared in his property if he died without direct heirs or in the compensation payable for his homicide.

[2] See Atkinson's Glossary (Ancient Laws of Ireland, VI., 364) s.v. *finntiuch* (!).

Both Irish and Welsh law expressly recognise a chief or head of the legal kin, in Welsh *pen cenedl*, in Irish *cenn* (or *conn* or *art* or *aige*) *fine*. The functions and powers of the *cenn fine* have not been found authentically defined, and I gather from Mr. Ellis that the same may be said of the *pen cenedl*. I suggest that his chief function was to represent the kinsmen when questions arose of legal rights or obligations within the zone of kinship or between the kin and outsiders. For example, in case of succession, there was evident need of a recognised personal agent who could call the kinsmen together and preside over the allocation of assets or liabilities; otherwise they might fail to come together or might meet in dissident groups, with the result that their rights and dues would remain undetermined. Again, when the legal kin, as a body, had to claim rights against an outsider or to meet a claim made against them, it was necessary to act jointly, and this could best be done through a person whose authority to represent them could not be disputed. This is the *conn ardalabrathar*, "the head who speaks [in court, etc.] on their behalf."[1]

But all this does not constitute the kin as an "organism" in the sense of forming an organic member of the social structure. It was only when occasion arose for the determination of legal rights or obligations that the kin became organic. Moreover, we cannot speak of the members of a *fine* or of a *cenedl* in the same sense as we speak of members of a legal corporation. The zone of kinship which defined the legal kin of a given man was not the same as for his father, nor was the zone the same for his father as for his grandfather. If the three generations of adults in one lineage were coexistent, as must often have been the case, the grandfather would be a "member" of three overlapping zones, and his rights and obligations to be determined would vary accordingly. My study of the Irish legal joint family

[1] A.L.I. iv 436.

led me to infer that its origin was to be sought in a pre-existing *patria potestas* such as Roman law preserved, and that its development was due to the decay of the *patria potestas*. I found afterwards that precisely the same explanation of the Hindu joint family had been put forward by J. H. Mayne.[1]

Viewing Welsh and Irish law side by side, one finds a much stronger impression of contrast than of similarity. The point of strongest resemblance is in fact the law of the joint family, and hence we should rightly think that the joint family in both peoples has the same origin and the same explanation. The contrasts between Welsh and Irish law can be accounted for by the course of history in the two countries. In Ireland the Celtic régime, with that distinctive feature of western Celtic civilisation, druidism, continued without interruption from, let us say, about 200 B.C. down to the time when the Irish laws were committed to writing, a process which began about A.D. 640.[2] We have to make allowance, as I have said, for certain influences of Christianity and Christian learning in the meantime, say from A.D. 450; but there is no break in the succession of professional jurists, the custodians and exponents, to a large degree the artificers of Irish law. Very different was the history of Wales. The last we hear of the druids in Wales is their massacre in Mona (Anglesey) by Paulinus Suetonius in A.D. 62[3]. Three centuries follow, during which Wales was dominated rather than governed by the Romans. Roman influence is probably to be traced most in the higher and more purely political forms of the later social organisation. In the fourth century, with the decline of the Imperial power, there were extensive

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[1] See *Celtic Ireland*, p. 165. I may add that later study has confirmed my interpretation of the structure of the *fine*, especially my view that the "seventeen men" means seventeen categories of kinship—father, brother, son, father's brother, etc.

[2] See my paper, "A Pioneer of Nations," *Studies*, March and September, 1922.

[3] Tacitus, *Annales* 14, 30, hardly succeeds in giving this affair the aspect of a military engagement.

Irish migrations to Wales. Among the Britons, adhering in theory to Roman citizenship, native *tyranni* arose, local Caesars. In the fifth century there was an immigration of northern Britons from the region of the Forth and Clyde, headed by the "Sons of Cunedda," who recovered much territory from the Irish. In time the kings of Gwynedd, of Cunedda's line, acquired a dominant position and ultimately in the tenth century the greater part of Wales became a single kingdom under Hywel Dda, king of Gwynedd.[1] "The laws of Hywel Dha, a codification of custom, not a new legislation, were redacted in the first half of the tenth century." Perhaps Mr. Ellis here strains somewhat the sense by the word "custom."

EOIN MACNEILL.

(To be continued.)

[1] Two principalities of Irish origin, the kingdoms of Dyfed and Brycheiniog, survived the invasion of the Sons of Cunedda. In the seventh century, Brycheiniog passed by marriage of an heiress to the line of Dyfed. Hywel Dda married an heiress of this line. Northern Wales had already, by inheritance and marriage, come under the authority of his grandfather Rhodri Mawr. Succession in the female line was unknown to Irish law in the historical period.

THE CENTENARY OF BEETHOVEN

Born at Bonn, December 16, 1770—Died at Vienna, March 26, 1827

BY MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

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LUDWIG van Beethoven, born in the year 1770 in Bonn am Rhein, was just 19 years of age at the outbreak of the French Revolution. 1770-1789 covered, roughly speaking, the so-called Storm and Stress period in Germany, the characteristics of which, as of the Romantic movement which followed close upon it, were love of liberty, of nature, and of "folk"; passion for deeds; revolt against rule and convention; free rein to individuality; worship of force as expressed in personality; delight in untutored genius; titanic effort to break through human and aesthetic limitations; fierce endeavour to plumb the depths and scale the heights, to express the inexpressible. To students of Beethoven's personality and art it will be obvious that these characteristics of his period are essentials of any adequate description of the man who said, concerning Bonaparte, "Strength is the morale of men who are distinguished beyond others, and it is also mine"; whose "Eroica" symphony was superscribed "Bonaparte" when Bonaparte was still the leader of the young revolution, but who tore the title page of that symphony in two and crushed it under foot on learning that Bonaparte had assumed the imperial purple. These are some of the characteristics also of the Beethoven whose music Bismarck found so suited to his nerves, whose "Sonata Appassionata" he likened to "the sobs and strivings of humanity," and of the Finale of which he said: "If I heard this often, I should always be valiant."[1]

In this social, aesthetic and intellectual revolt the best and greatest spirits of the age were caught up. Klopstock heralded it. He, long before Beethoven, preached and

[1] A. Göllerjch: *Beethoven.*

incarnated art conscious of its mission and its dignity and claiming equality with the highest. He, like Beethoven, disclaimed trivialities; his epic and his odes sang of God, country, religion, friendship and love. He was one of Beethoven's early favourites in literature, displaced only by Goethe and Schiller. Goethe and Schiller were, in their first and (some would maintain) their greatest creations, Storm and Stress poets. Many parallels might be drawn between both these great figures and their great musical contemporary, and there are many points of contact between them. But these points of contact are between Beethoven and the earlier Goethe and Beethoven and the later Schiller. Students of literature know of the efforts of Bettina Brentano (who met Beethoven in Vienna in 1810) to bring Goethe and Beethoven together and of the failure of those efforts. Poet and musician met at Teplitz in 1812 only to mutually repel one another. Beethoven found Goethe too much of a courtier, "more than becomes a poet," and Goethe found Beethoven "too unrestrained." The Goethe of this period was, moreover, out of touch with his age; an age that, as is reported in Biedermann's *Gespräche*, "like Beethoven's music, wants to encompass everything and loses itself in the elemental, while attaining to great beauty in detail." This reaching out beyond the formal confines of an art, which was of the very essence of Beethoven's innovations in music, estranged the Goethe of 1812, who, in the above mentioned "Conversations," intimated that every art had its shortcomings, but that these should be suffered in practice, any attempt to get away from them involving a too close approximation to nature, as a result of which art became inartistic! Such a Goethe was not likely to establish any lasting friendship with the daring genius of Beethoven.

But the Goethe of the pre-Italian period, of "Werther," of "Egmont," of "Prometheus" and of "Faust"; the Goethe who conceived almost in a sleep-walking state, who seemed "possessed" by the very spirit of

poetry, from whose lips gushed forth a torrent of uninterrupted song—that is the Goethe with whom Beethoven has so much in common. He was, like Beethoven, a solitary ; like Beethoven he shunned society, did not feel at home with the world, was daemonic, a creature of destiny, a wanderer in the night and at dawn among hills and woods, a passionate lover of nature, composing his songs and odes on the wooded road between Darmstadt and Frankfurt, as Beethoven did his sonatas amid the beauties of the Wiener Wald. Of this Goethe Beethoven set to music many poems, whilst reserving his " Faust " for later composition. Wagner indeed sees " Faust " in the 9th Symphony, and at least the period of this symphony coincides with many proposals made to Beethoven that he should compose the music for Goethe's great symbolic poem. We know that it was one of the visions that hovered before his dying eyes. But the older Goethe, whose ideals were discipline and moderation and who had no ear for the appeals of a Heinrich von Kleist, had none too for Beethoven and left unanswered the letter which was written to him by Beethoven in 1823, requesting his intervention with the Weimar Duke to subscribe to the famous " Missa Solemnis."

With the later Schiller, the zealous student of Kant (whose austere philosophy attracted Beethoven profoundly), the enthusiast for the ideal, the votary of art, the poet of " Die Ideale " and " Wilhelm Tell," Beethoven and his striving have much in common. He wanted to compose music for " Tell " and saw it handed over to a contemporary, whose name now lives only in obscure musical histories ; and he immortalized the rather mediocre and rhetorical " Lied an die Freude " by wedding it for ever to his deathless music in the 9th symphony. The lines in " Die Ideale " :

Es dehnte mit allmächtigem Streben
Die enge Brust ein kreissend All
Hinauszutreten in das Leben
In Wort und Tat, in Bild und Schall

might have been written of this musician as fittingly and truthfully as of the poet himself. The great poet's fine philosophical poem, "Das Ideal und das Leben," is applicable in almost every line to the artist Beethoven, wrestling with his gigantic themes, faithful to the highest aims in his art, translating the world of human hopes and fears, tears and strivings, into terms of the beautiful, the terrible and the sublime in music.

Following on the Storm and Stress, the Romantics took up between 1796-1816 the struggle against the tyranny of form, and endeavoured to enrich and enlarge the content of art by fusion. The lyrical, the epical, the dramatic; classical temple and mediaeval cathedral; Apollo and Dionysius and God; South and North and East and West; sense and soul; prayer and passion—all go to make up the rich web of that art which they planned and dreamed and tried to live in their lives. Beethoven in music, such as the serene and beautiful 4th Symphony with its "twilight moods," or the wonderful 6th (Pastoral) Symphony with its quiet beauty of wood and field, its murmur of brooks, its calls of cuckoo, quail and nightingale, its folk dances in the open, is the supreme expression of romance—but a romance which, unlike many of the German exponents of that epoch, "never transgresses the great principles of form and balance." One of the Romantics, E. T. A. Hoffmann, himself an example of the fusion of the arts, is the first critic capable of really measuring Beethoven's greatness. His appreciation of the Symphonies in 1810 is said to have opened up a new era in musical criticism. From another Romantic, Fouqué, Beethoven hopes to get a text worthy of his music. With Bettina von Arnim he has enduring relations.

All these romantics were worshippers of the heroic, lovers of liberty, fighters for fatherland. Many of them like Körner, Fouqué, van Arnim, Schenkendorf wielded sword and pen and went into battle with the Siegfried epic on their lips. Some of Beethoven's symphonies are built on similar themes. The famous 3rd Symphony

(" Eroica "), which in 1804 " fixed the form of all real programme as opposed to absolute music," drew even from the narrow and artificial Zelter the singular comment in a letter to Goethe : " Beethoven's mother must have been a man," and enchanted the great popular hero, Prince Louis Ferdinand, who, when he was staying as guest at the palace of Beethoven's patron, Prince Lobkowitz, requested its frequent repetition. That is the symphony which has become so symbolical of the heroic that it was rededicated to Bismarck after his dismissal. Again in 1813, that year of supreme tension in Europe, Beethoven gave to an excitedly enthusiastic audience in Vienna his 7th Symphony, which has been described as a reflection of the enthusiasm of the first Wars of Liberation in Germany, a mighty echo of the dance of war and death performed joyously by the best and bravest of the youth of the country. That symphony and the Battle Symphony (which the composer himself conducted) were performed for the benefit of the wounded soldiers, and the greatest virtuosi of the age—Meyerbeer, Spohr, Schuppanzigh and Romberg—were proud to co-operate in the patriotic work. And, finally, though it by no means exhausts the analogies between Beethoven and contemporary Romantics, the motif of the composer's life, the ever-recurring theme of his letters and certainly of his art—joy through sorrow—is the thread that runs through that great tragic epic, the *Nibelungenlied*, first worthily studied and popularized by the young Romantics and later rendered in terms of music by that Wagner who owes so much to Beethoven.

In Vienna Beethoven came into touch with the literary men of the time. Grillparzer, the great outstanding figure of the period, was asked in 1822, when " Fidelio " had been given with enormous success, to write the composer a text for an opera. " Melusine " was the result ; but, though Beethoven received it, he never arrived at its composition. The subject had not sufficient content, was not sufficiently big or energetic to exercise the

essential qualities of an artist whose Coriolanus overture shows him "the predecessor of Wagner in dramatic music." The mere play instinct which underlies the "Melusine" was, no doubt, sufficient to deter Beethoven who had definitely broken with that tradition in music. Indeed, the resignation, the order and the quiet of the Austrian poet had but little in common with the titanic strength of that Beethoven who (in a letter in 1801) said to his friend Wegeler: "I will grip fate by the throat. It shall not overcome me," or of him who said: "Music should strike fire out of the soul of man." We know that Grillparzer, though musical himself and coming of a musical family (his mother was a Sonnleithner) and though an ardent admirer of many of the sonatas and of the early symphonies, could not appreciate the great fifth or ninth symphony, the latter of which he found "confused stuff." He seems to have later had pangs of conscience over the "Melusine," which he was conscious of having written with the intention of securing the avoidance by the composer of those peculiarities of turbulence and immeasurableness which were of the very essence of Beethoven's art.

Such is the literary background of Beethoven's age, an age of great minds and great characters, among whom he walks unchallenged, one of the noblest and strongest. We find him stirred by its passions, inspired by its thoughts and ideals, sharing in and expressing through his art its strivings. Homer and Ossian, Plutarch and Shakespeare, Socrates and Kant, Goethe and Schiller —these are of the stuff of his mind. But to these must be added—and that is the great difference setting him apart, above and beyond his epoch, both in Germany proper and in Austria, the country of his adoption—his profound and unalterable belief in the God of the Old and of the New Testament. And with the statement of that difference we can begin our brief study of the man and the artist Beethoven.

In most of the books and papers on Beethoven, the

subject of his religion or of his religious spirit has been dealt with in one way or another—often in ways very peculiar. Some writers assert that he was not religious in any orthodox or dogmatic sense; they do not argue or prove, they merely assert. Others class him as a Deist. Others again, such as Wagner, for whom Germany in 1820 seemed to spell nothing but Protestantism, state that he was "nominally a Catholic but in essence an heir of Luther." I do not think there is either need or ground for argument on the subject. Beethoven died, as all his biographers admit, the faithful child of the Church into which he was born in 1770, in the musical service of which he spent his early years, and one of whose great arts he splendidly adorned. "With pious resignation" and firm purpose to profess his faith—a faith which there is no tittle or jot of evidence that he ever denied—he received the last Sacraments of that Church, and for the "consolation" of these Sacraments he thanked the ministering priest who had "rendered him this last service." The accounts given of the days before his death are by eye-witnesses, such as his brother Johann, his friend Schindler, and the artist Hüttenbrenner who had hurried from Gratz to be with him at the end. Surely such a profession of faith from a man of Beethoven's giant strength of mind and character is enough, and we can afford to neglect the attempts to prove, from the prayers plentifully scattered through his diaries, letters and conversation books, that he was a Deist because "in none of these prayers is there the remotest indication that he believed in the necessity of any mediator between the soul of man and the Divine Father" (Thayer). It is as if we were to indict a Catholic for heresy because of his devotion to The Lord's Prayer! Indeed, if one were concerned to rebut in detail such theories, one need only remind the author of a note in one of his own volumes from a conversation book of Beethoven's in the year 1820: "What I think of Confession may be deduced from

the fact that I myself brought Karl (his nephew, for whose training he is so much concerned) to the Abbot of St. Michael for Confession."

Again, on this question of Beethoven's religious convictions and professions, the writer of an otherwise very fine and discrimintaing article in *The Times Literary Supplement* of March 24, referring to Beethoven's famous Mass in D, implies that it was his pecuniary embarrassments that drove him to devote himself to a setting of the Mass. He goes on to say: "The decision could hardly have been spontaneous, for his religion had no flavour of piety; it was wholly personal, a blending of vision with doubt." Now this implication seems to me, from an examination of the documents, to be absolutely unjustified. In 1818, when Archduke Rudolph, the friend, pupil and patron of Beethoven, was made Cardinal Archbishop of Olmütz, Beethoven determined to write for the great festival of his enthronement a Mass. The biographers agree that the suggestion came not from the Court but from Beethoven himself. It was not the first time he had written a Mass. He had done so in 1807 for Prince Esterhazy—the Mass in C Major. The Mass and Mass Music were part of his daily life at Bonn down to 1792. He had learned the organ from Friar Willibald Koch and played it every morning at six o'clock Mass in the Minorite Church in Bonn. At eleven years of age he was constantly deputising for his teacher Neefe, the Court Organist, and was himself, in 1784, appointed Assistant Court Organist. We should therefore find nothing strange in the resolve, when such an occasion as that of the Consecration of the Archduke Rudolph offered itself, to write a Mass. On the contrary, there is every reason to think that, at this period, Beethoven is seeking for ever more sublime forms for the expression of his emotions and ideas. During the four years which it took to complete the Mass, 1818-1822, Beethoven has more than ever the character of a "dedicated visionary," to use the

ine phrase of the author of the article. His diary about hat period has the following entries: "Sacrifice again ll the pettinesses of social life to my art. O God above ll things. . . Tranquilly will I submit myself to all icissitudes and place my sole confidence in Thy unalterable oodness. Be my rock, my light, for ever my trust." nd again: "Let operas and everything else go. Write nly for your own manner." (A. Göllerjch).

It is true that, in a letter to Archduke Rudolph in 823, he says: "The delicate state of my health for everal years past requires that I should think of some neans of improving my position, all the more since I am eavily in debt, and have, on account of my health, to ive up the idea of accepting the invitation to go to England. The Mass seemed to me a fitting way of getting ut of the difficulty." But it is quite obvious from the ontinuation of that letter that he is referring, not to the omposition of the Mass which goes back to 1818, but to he project of getting German and foreign courts to ubscribe 50 ducats for a copy—a project which ended in ailure. Far from this great work having had its origin n the stress of financial embarrassment, readers of Beethoven literature must know the devotion and the nthusiasm which went to its composition and the extent o which Beethoven at this period withdrew himself still nore from the world and from society.

To return to our study. Beethoven in Bonn, where is father as singer and his grandfather as Kapellmeister vere in the service of the Ecclesiastical Electoral Princes f Cologne, was born into a world of musical and Catholic ulture of which we in our "democratic" age can have ut little conception. This culture was much deepened, nd widened in the direction of literature and philosophy n the accession (1761) of Max Franz, son of the Empress Iaria Teresa, to the electoral dignity. It was he who, ver of music, and patron of Mozart, bringing to the rovincial town the great air of Barock Vienna grown to

an imperial splendour of art and architecture under his mother, raised Bonn to University rank in 1786. All the biographers are at pains to tell us of the visit paid by Beethoven at 17 to Vienna, of his playing before Mozart (for whom down to the day of his death he had the greatest admiration and reverence), of the latter's retiring to listen, unseen, to the improvisations which, even more than the execution, were then Beethoven's great feature, and of Mozart's prophecy: "Keep an eye on that young man; he will one day give the world something to talk about." Are we not still talking?

Beethoven's musical education at least was not neglected. It hardly required to be cultivated, since music was of the very air he breathed; but his father, conscious of his own deficiencies and anxious that his son should rival the youth of Mozart, handed him over for training in the different instruments to men like Van den Eeden, Neefe, Pfeiffer and Rovantini. Into the details of his home life it is not necessary to go. They are sordid and unlovely, but illumined by the faith, the hope and the charity of that Beethoven of whom a contemporary long afterwards said: "If Heaven had bestowed nothing upon him but his heart, this alone would have made him one in whose presence many would be obliged to stand up and do obeisance" (Thayer). His father was a drunkard, defended on occasion with characteristic vigour by Ludwig against the local police. His mother, "clever, gentle, kind, righteous and peaceable," and passionately loved by her eldest son, was a consumptive and died at 40. At 11 years of age Beethoven was already an earner: at 14 he was assistant court organist. He is described at that time in an official document as "good, quiet in his conduct, poor." At the age of 22, when he went finally to Vienna to study under Haydn, we find him writing of himself: "I am not really bad. Hot blood is my wickedness. My crime is youth. To do good when one can, to love liberty above all, never to deny the truth,

not even at the steps of the throne." It might be an epitome of some of the phases of his character preserved intact, through all the temptations of a brilliant career, down to the day of his death.

In Vienna, where he was destined to remain till his death, the years from 1792 to 1796 are the serenest, gayest and happiest of his life. He has Archduke Rudolph for a pupil; he is an honoured guest at many of the great palaces the owners of which, men like Lichnowsky, Rasumowsky, Lobkowitz, Lichtenstein, Kinsky, Browne, Van Swieten vied with one another in entertaining and being entertained by this wonderful young man whose fame had reached them, through court channels probably, and certainly also through Count Waldstein. Indeed, had he not gone to Vienna "to receive Mozart's spirit from the hands of Haydn"? He was destined to outdistance both. And, with all that, he was "modest and free from all pretension," amiable and light-hearted. He is described, even then, as having an inexhaustible wealth of ideas and a characteristic style of playing—"more for the heart." Even then he had formed the intention of composing Schiller's "Hymn to Joy," and Fischenich wrote to Charlotte von Schiller in 1793: "I expect something perfect from him; for, so far as I know him, he is wholly devoted to the great and sublime" (Thayer). His letters at this period are full of delightful, boyish pride in his achievements, of plans to help all his friends, financially and otherwise, full of the consciousness of his fame and power. But in 1800, as his letter to Pastor Amenda shows, the blow has already fallen—his ears have begun to fail. "My fairest years will pass, and I cannot realize the promise of my powers and my talents. Sad resignation, which is now my one resource." He writes to Wegeler about this "strange malady which, in my profession, produces a terrible situation." He curses his existence, and then in the same breath resolves to defy destiny.

In spite of this deafness, shutting him off from the world of men and leaving him only the world of thought, of spirit and of nature, the years 1800-1810 are the most fertile in creative work of every kind—overtures, quartets, sonatas, symphonies, as well as the more fugitive and less well known variations and settings of songs. His art steadily and consciously develops. He writes to Mathisson in 1800: "You know the change that a few years brings to an artist entered upon the path of progress; the greater the progress he makes in his art, the less satisfied is he with his older works." And to Wegeler: "There is no greater pleasure for me than the practice of my art. . . . I feel the forces of my mind increase. Each day I approach nearer to the aim that I sense, but that I can not find words to describe. No rest! I know none except sleep, and it hurts me that I have to sleep more than I have hitherto been accustomed to do." This is the period of many of the great symphonies and sonatas, and of the quartets, concerning which the musicians of the day thought Beethoven was playing a practical joke on them, so great were the demands he made on instruments and instrumentation. That must have been a wonderful Vienna in which all these symphonies were given to great public audiences; in which the famous Rasumowsky quartet, embodying Russian folk-songs, and with the Russian himself at the 'cello, was given at the Rasumowsky Ambassadorial palace; and in which the Kreutzer Sonata was played at eight o'clock on a May morning in the Augarten, with Beethoven at the piano and Bridgetower, the mulatto, at the violin. Love and hope of marriage and of founding a home—one of the human sweetnesses this great artist was destined never to experience—caress the composer during these years and alternate with sickness, despondency, war and even want, for the political unrest and the incessant European wars brought financial distress and depreciation of money values in their train. Some of Beethoven's great patrons, such

as Lobkowitz, suffered bankruptcy, and Beethoven suffered with them.

The years 1810-1827 are, with the exception of 1812-1814, and 1818-1824, less rich in creative work. Beethoven's health has failed; his deafness, his isolation and his consequent "eccentricities" increase; his days are wasted and his heart is worn out in the ceaseless sordid struggle with relations, with housekeepers and with his worthless nephew, Karl. Yet the greatness and the glory of his art triumph even over all these obstacles, and we have in this period of deepening loneliness, darkness and dread the great victories of the 7th and 8th Symphonies in 1812 and the world famous ninth in 1822, the public performance of which in 1824 is a veritable triumph for Beethoven, though its pecuniary results were debts and an empty pocket. To this period, too, belong the Missa Solemnis, already been dealt with, and the renewed work on and performance of "Fidelio." Beethoven is still, in spite of all trials and disappointments, the golden-hearted. He writes works for the impoverished Ursulines at Gratz, refusing any payment and disclaiming any reward other than that which flows from the performance of a good action; he sits at the piano in an anteroom of the house of Baroness Ertmann and plays till his music brings the relief of tears to a grief-stricken mother; he is the same Beethoven who, at Heiligenstadt, entered the house of a blind girl and seating himself at her poor piano said: "*I* will make her see the moonlight." His rumblings and grumblings, his abrupt entries and equally abrupt departures, his convention-defying manners, though they make him impossible for landladies and lodgers, fail to alienate one of his friends or acquaintances. Those with whom he most violently quarrelled return to him again and again. Alone his nephew, in whom he would fain rear a monument to his name and give a hostage to fortune, is absent from his side, neglects to bring him the doctor in his hour of desperate need, and

allows the eyes of one of the noblest men and the greatest geniuses of any age to be closed in death by a stranger.

Vienna, that strangely, gay, inconsequent and inconstant city of art and beauty and fashion, was stricken into grief and silence at the death of the genius whom she had so long fêted and so bitterly neglected. She tried to make amends by according him a funeral such as is given only to the great ones of the earth and to kings. As a king Beethoven entered into his rest; as a king he dominates the world's music to-day. His funeral oration was pronounced at the graveside by Grillparzer, who, on the night of his death, had given vent to his emotion in a singularly beautiful poem describing Beethoven's entry into Paradise. The oration was worthy of the great dead. Its concluding passage deserves to be recorded :—

> He was an artist, and who is there worthy to stand beside him? An artist, but also a man, in every sense, in the highest sense. Because he withdrew himself from the world, men called him hostile, and because he avoided sentiment, they dubbed him unfeeling. But he who knows himself to be hard, does not flee. It is the finest points which are blunted and bend or break. It is the superfluity of emotion that avoids sentiment. He fled the world because, in the whole range of his loving being, he found no weapon to oppose to that world. He withdrew from men after he had given them all and received nothing in exchange. He remained a solitary, because he nowhere found the companion of his soul. But to his grave he carried a heart human for all men, paternal for his own; his gifts and his personality were dedicated to the whole world.
>
> Such he was in life, such in death, and as such he will live for all time. No man enters alive into the halls of immortality. The body must perish before the spirit can enter those golden gates. He whom you mourn as dead now lives for ever, inaccessible to injury, among the great ones of all time.

MARY M. MACKEN.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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MOMMSEN has set his mark so deep on the study of Roman history, and in particular the history of the Roman Empire, that Professor Rostovtzeff's recent book,[1] in many ways as comprehensive and as erudite as Mommsen's best work and wholly original in its estimate of Roman achievement, has been hailed by many as a welcome surprise. Professor Rostovtzeff is not another Mommsen. He has not the German historian's gift of dramatic narrative, nor his keen insight into politics and the problems of constitutional law, nor his astounding sureness of judgment. For Mommsen's unworthy portrait of Cicero is surely the single exception in his great gallery of Roman statesmen; and no man has better understood the Roman Empire than this native of Schleswig-Holstein who was expelled from Germany for his liberal views in 1848 and whose last political pronouncement was a warning against the increasing militarism and imperialism of young National Liberals. But Russia to-day is as good a school for political thought as Prussia seventy years ago, and Professor Rostovtzeff's book is the book of a man who has lived and thought—and studied. His erudition is amazing. There can hardly be a museum in Europe which he has not ransacked for evidence of Rome's economic greatness, and the notes at the end of this volume furnish material for a bibliography that would daunt the most courageous reader.

Perhaps the most significant fact about this *Social*

[1] *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire.* By M. Rostovtzeff, Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.), Hon. Litt.D. (Wisconsin). Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. 45s. net.

and Economic History of the Roman Empire is that it appears as a publication of the Clarendon Press. Old traditions die hard, and Oxford publications are usually assumed to belong to the literary traditions of nineteenth-century English scholarship. But here is a volume, illustrated as few histories of Rome have been illustrated, and with hardly a single reference in its footnotes to the old, familiar authors of the classical tradition. Seneca, Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, Martial and Juvenal: these were the classics who once figured as our main authorities for the history of the Roman Empire—of the later Roman Empire little was thought and less was read. The new erudition, of which this Oxford publication is a type, derives from other sources. The diggings at Pompeii and Ostia, the sand-buried cities of Africa, the wonderful series of provincial museums in Germany and Austria, the Gallo-Roman reliefs which M. Espérandieu has published in such detail, obscure finds in Southern Russia, the ruined temples and villas of Syria and Asia Minor—more than all these, the papyrus-documents of Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman Empire: these are the authorities quoted most frequently in the notes, and these are the monuments from which, with a genius for suggestive selection, Professor Rostovtzeff has illustrated the main thesis of his book. There are in all sixty plates, most of them bearing two or three illustrations. "They are an essential part of the book," says the author in his preface, "as essential, in fact, as the notes and quotations from literary or documentary sources." To most of his readers they will be the revelation of an unimagined world.

For it is our imagination which this book stimulates, more, perhaps, than any other faculty. Here and there in our wanderings we may have stumbled on some monument of the Roman Empire—a military camp in Britain, the long line of a Roman road, some rude piece of sculptured stone, curiously provincial in its workman-

ship yet unmistakably Roman, or a handful of Roman coins. The more determined amongst us may even have visited a museum of Roman antiquities. In nine cases out of ten it has been a dreary pursuit. Meaningless objects lie beneath a glass-case; the labels (if there are labels) demand an act of faith for which we have neither energy nor interest; there is an air of monotony about the whole room, and we come away with a head-ache. It is nobody's fault in particular, not even our own. We simply do not know enough to take an interest in what we see—and the museum cannot be expected to give us all the knowledge that we lack. But there is at least one reader of this *Economic History* who would gladly carry the Russian professor's luggage on a visit to every Graeco-Roman museum in Europe, Africa and Asia. For here is someone who can see, and whose acquaintance with the whole body of extant evidence, literary or non-literary, is so sure that the least addition to his store of knowledge suggests combinations and conclusions that a duller mind would spend a lifetime overlooking.

It is indeed an amazing picture, this vision of the Graeco-Roman world at the moment of its greatest prosperity and most complex organisation. We boast much nowadays of the close relations that have been established between the markets of the modern world. But the *orbis terrarum* which encircled the Mediterranean during the first four centuries of our era was an organised society, less vast in its extent, but hardly less complex in its workings. To take an example from Professor Rostovtzeff's own country: we do not usually associate Southern Russia with Graeco-Roman civilisation, though Ovid should have taught us better. For a pleasure-loving Roman courtier life in Tomi was indeed an exile in the remotest corner of the Empire. But Roman *negotiatores* were more adventurous. Bronze plate from Capua has been discovered in large quantities in the more remote regions of the Caucasus. Safety-pins from

Aquileia in Northern Italy have found their way to the shores of the Black Sea and the country round the Don. And fine examples of Campanian blown glass—imitated from the work of Syrian glass-factories, like the wonderful Roman glass which has been found of recent years in Cologne—lie side by side with their Syrian models in the tombs of merchant-princes in Southern Russia. We can even trace the process by which the Italian traders gradually drove their Syrian and Alexandrian competitors from the Russian market.

Active competition of this kind was the rule, not the exception, in all the countries which bordered on the Mediterranean. One famous example is to be found in the history of Italian pottery. The beautiful red glazed pottery (*terra sigillata*) of Arezzo and Campania dominated the markets of the Empire during the first century A.D., and is, perhaps, the most familiar sight in any Roman museum to-day. But Roman law offered no safeguards of patent or copyright, and rival factories soon sprang up in the East as well as in the West. Gaul proved in the end the most formidable competitor, and during the second century A.D.—that high-water mark of Roman industrial prosperity—Gallic pottery had ousted the Italian wares, not only from Gaul, Germany and Britain, but even from the home-market in Italy. Any one who wishes to follow the history of that particular "Roman" industry should visit the Museum of Gallo-Roman pottery which a public-spirited Dutch merchant has founded in Nijmegen. He will find there every conceivable variety of types, some local, but most of them imported from one or other of the great Gallic factories. And he will find on the wall a map of industrial Gaul, which will illustrate more vividly than any catalogue of exhibits the extraordinary complexity of Gallo-Roman economic life.

What made that life possible? *Pax Romana* is, of course, the obvious answer; but we are too apt to forget

the Roman debt to Greece, above all to the Hellenistic world of Alexander and his successors. In his first chapter Professor Rostovtzeff summarises the economic achievements of that period in a few sentences which had better be quoted in full :—

> The commercial capitalism of the Greek cities of the fourth century B.C. attained a development which brought the Hellenistic states very near to the stage of industrial capitalism that characterises the economic history of Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Hellenistic cities had at their disposal a large internal market. They carried on an important and steadily growing external trade in competition with each other. They gradually improved the technique of agricultural and industrial production with the aid of pure and applied science which advanced with rapid strides in all the Hellenistic kingdoms ; and they employed both in agriculture (including cattle-breeding) and in industry the methods of pure capitalistic economy based on slave-labour. They introduced for the first time a mass production of goods for an indefinite market. They developed banking and credit and succeeded in creating not only general rules for maritime commerce (the so-called Rhodian maritime law) but also a kind of common civil law which was valid all over the Hellenistic world.

There is, of course, a reverse side to this picture. The interminable wars of succession and of conquest, which make the Hellenistic age such a dreary study from the political point of view, came near to ruining the prosperity of cities like Alexandria, Antioch, Seleucia and the wealthy sea-ports of Asia Minor and the islands. What the *Epigoni* of Alexander's Empire left undisturbed was robbed and taxed and robbed again by the Roman governors of the Republican era. Incidentally, this collapse of Hellenistic commerce was all to the good of Italian traders : they stepped in where their Greek or Oriental rivals had been bled white, and for a brief period the markets of the East were controlled by Roman *negotiatores*. Those were the great days of Puteoli and Ostia—more especially of Puteoli, the natural harbour from which Campanian wines and Campanian products of every description were shipped to the East in exchange

for Greek or Asiatic wares. Pompeii and Herculaneum are now once more the living witnesses of that memorable industrial and commercial boom. The visitor who has had the good fortune of reading this *Economic History* before visiting Pompeii can distinguish for himself the various types of houses which illustrate the steady growth of a small country-town, gradually rising to be the centre of an important wholesale trade. The *Casa dei Vettii*, for example, is a veritable picture-gallery of local Campanian industries, and the National Museum at Naples contains the charred remains of almost every agricultural or industrial product known to us from ancient descriptions of Italian life.

But Pompeii is, after all, familiar ground: the danger is rather that we should give this local Campanian prosperity more than its true value. For the ashes of Vesuvius were kind. Had the eruption of 79 A.D. come a century later, the diggings at Pompeii would have been certain to reveal the story of a decline as steady, and perhaps as swift, as the sudden rise to prosperity of the Pompeii we know. For modern archaeological finds have made it plain that during the second century A.D. Italy began to lag behind in the race for the markets of the world; in the East her trade was once more driven out by native products; in the West she lost the markets of Gaul, Germany and Britain and might well be thankful for the new opportunities afforded to her *negotiatores* by the progress of Roman imperial policy on the Upper and Lower Danube. Aquileia in the North takes the place of Puteoli as the principal Italian port of exchange, whilst Ostia, the great receiving-house of Roman food-supplies and other imports, shows little trace of an export trade.

The same process of decline is evident in the history of Italian agriculture, though here the story is more complicated. Writing in the days of Julius Caesar, at a time when civil war had become a chronic plague in the country, Varro draws a wonderful picture of Italian

prosperity. "You have travelled in many lands," says one of the speakers in his dialogue *De Re Rustica*. "Have you seen any country better cultivated than Italy? Can you name a single useful product which is not native to this country, and of excellent quality? Campanian meal, Apulian wheat, Falernian wine, the oil of Venafrum: where will you find their equal? Is not all Italy so closely planted with trees as to look like one great orchard?" Corn, wine, olive-oil: these were the main food-supplies of the ancient world and Italy could produce all three.[1] But the *laissez-faire* policy of the ancient world in matters industrial did not apply to this supreme question of food-supplies. Carthage in the West, following the example of the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East, set an example of scientific protection which Roman statesmen were not slow to follow. Roughly speaking, this policy aimed at using conquered provinces across the sea as granaries for the home-country and the army, whilst the capitalists of the Empire—whether that Empire was Carthaginian or Roman—made their fortunes out of intensive farming (chiefly wines and olive) according to Greek scientific methods. Spain and Sicily were the granaries of Carthage: Rome turned the tables on her enemy, and Africa became for three centuries a vast corn-growing country, competing with Sicily and Sardinia, and later with Egypt, for the Roman market. Meanwhile Italian agriculture flourished, as Varro has told us: he forgets to mention that this prosperity had been artificially created. Cicero is more candid. In his *De Republica* he says plainly that the Roman senate forbade all vine-growing in Gaul for the benefit of Italian farmers—and we remember Cato's argument for the destruction of

[1] Cattle-breeding was also a great Italian industry, and was common in most of the Mediterranean lands. Cattle were reared mainly for the plough, horses for the army and the race-course. Professor Rostovtzeff gives some fine plates of African mosaics which prove that race-horses and hunters, as well as cattle and poultry, were part of the produce of a large African estate in the days of St. Augustine.

Carthage: an armful of fresh figs which he had brought back from some Carthaginian estate.

But there are limits to a policy of protection. The Roman Empire was becoming a world-empire; Italy's capital—a great city, even according to modern standards of population—was fast out-growing the supplies of the home-country; and the problem of army supplies became acute once Pompey and Julius Caesar had pushed the boundaries of the Roman Empire so far afield. In the East trade revived rapidly with the establishment of peace, and the old Hellenistic markets once more asserted their sway. In the West Gaul and Spain became at first welcome sources of supply, then dangerous rivals. Gaul was the more dangerous of the two, for Spain's wealth was chiefly in flax and minerals, though her olive-oil was famous and cheaper than the Italian product. Gaul was, then as now, one of the richest lands in Europe. Her roads and water-ways made transport easy, her crops fed the armies of the Rhine and Britain, and her wines, once the Roman veto was allowed to lapse, proved so abundant that the ancient world became familiar with the problem of over-production. Domitian was even forced to revive the old Republican policy of a veto. His order was drastic: no new vineyards were to be planted either in Italy or the provinces, and half the existing vineyards in the provinces were to be destroyed. How far this order was carried into effect is a matter of dispute; but two centuries later permission to cultivate the vine in Spain, Gaul, Britain and the Danube lands was granted by the emperor Probus, and the fact is duly noted by his biographer as a new departure.

In spite of this protective policy, Italian agriculture was not saved. A century after Varro's idyllic picture, Pliny and Columella have a different story to tell: small farmers are losing interest in their profession, and the land-grabber (*mergus agrarius*) is beginning to convert Italy into a land of large estates (*latifundia*) tilled at first

by slave-labour, and later by a population of impoverished tenants who cared little for economic improvements. Who was to blame? Neither landlord nor tenant, in all probability; both were the victims of irresistible economic forces. For a time, during the first and second centuries A.D., the Flavian and Antonine emperors did their best to save Italy from economic collapse; later their successors seem to have been content with the policy of *laissez-faire*. Supplies were needed more and more urgently, and the resources of the Empire were exploited to the full. Africa, for centuries confined to the production of corn, became once more a vast olive-growing country in the second and third centuries: recent French excavations have proved that large regions, now absorbed in the Sahara, were once covered with an endless forest of fruit-bearing olive-trees—surely a humiliating lesson for our boasted modern progress!

The decay of Italian prosperity under the Empire, like the decay of the Greek mainland in the days of the great Hellenistic kingdoms, did not imply a corresponding decline in the prosperity of other countries. Gaul, Spain, Africa and many provinces of the East were never more prosperous than in the second century A.D. But the unsolved riddle of Ancient History awaits us as soon as the death of Marcus Aurelius put an end to the great succession of Antonine emperors. Even under Marcus Aurelius—for the matter of that, under Hadrian and Trajan—alarming cracks were becoming visible in the stately fabric of Roman Imperialism. Trajan is the last of the Roman conquerors: after his death no new markets were thrown open to Roman traders. His successor, Hadrian, preferred to abandon a difficult territory rather than incur the expense of civilising it. This policy of imperial economy becomes more and more marked under Antoninus Pius, and the wars which Marcus Aurelius was compelled to undertake in defence of the Persian and Danube frontiers came near to ruining the Roman financial

system. Commodus should no doubt have fought those wars to a finish: Roman security was at stake, as well as Roman prestige. He preferred to buy an inglorious and ominously insecure peace: fifty years after his death the Roman Empire lay in ruins. What was wrong?

Professor Rostovtzeff has a theory of his own to explain this sudden catastrophe—and his theory is certainly consistent, though not wholly convincing. According to him the Roman Empire rested from the first upon insecure foundations. A vast world-state, including within its territory great stores of natural wealth, peopled by the most highly civilised races of the ancient world, and capable, so it might seem, of almost indefinite expansion, this *Imperium Romanum* never freed itself from the limited outlook of an ancient city-state. For a Greek to be civilised was to be a πολίτης, a citizen: those who were not citizens were either slaves or barbarians. The *fellahîn* of Egypt, for example, the peasants of Syria, the Gauls who had settled in Asia Minor, the nomad tribes of Scythia or Arabia: these were all equally "barbarians," their lives were outside the pale of civilised Greek society—and the Romans were for long as much "barbarians" as any of their less civilised neighbours in the West. Fundamentally, this conception of civilised society underwent no change during the centuries of Roman world-domination. Those emperors who did most for the organisation of the Empire—Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, Trajan and the Antonines—were those who also did most for the urbanisation of Europe. Even in the East, where Alexander's successors had been such mighty city-builders, much remained to be done. More than one Hellenistic city bore the name of Caesarea, and we still speak of Adrianople and Constantinople. In the West—with the exception of Carthage and Gaul, where town-life had been well developed before the Roman conquest—almost all the cities are Roman foundations, and the great majority are foundations of the Empire.

Europe under the Antonines, like nineteenth-century Europe, was most obviously a civilisation of the towns.

But there was a difference. Modern states are for the most part dominated by their cities, but the country-population is as truly a part of the state as the population of even the largest modern capital. In the ancient world town and country were far more sharply divided. Each city or town—their rank was carefully graded by Roman policy had its "territory" of arable land, distributed amongst its citizens. In theory they were self-supporting, and no doubt this was true of many towns in Gaul or Spain or Britain. But in the East, where city-life was more fully developed, and in Italy, where agriculture had fallen into decay, many of the larger cities were faced with a problem of food-supplies hardly less urgent than the problem of the Roman *annona*. Who fed the cities? The long-suffering, unnamed populations of the less civilised countrysides: the *pagani*, whose slowness in assimilating Christianity as it spread from town to country, has given their name a meaning which would have surprised the cultured pagans of Athens and Rome.

This contrast between the *pagani* and the *urbani* varied immensely from province to province. Egypt, the land of one city, is the classic example of a province deliberately set apart by the Roman emperors as a food-producing country: its civilised life made little or no progress during the centuries of Roman rule. What we know of Syria and the *hinterland* of Asia Minor shows the working of a similar policy, and the Danube provinces were notoriously illiterate. In Italy Cisalpine Gaul was less urban than Central and Southern Italy, and Northern Gaul never was the equal of *Gallia Narbonensis*: St. Martin found plenty of *pagani* to evangelise as late as the fourth century. The glimpses of country-life which we get in his biography help us to understand the sharp contrast between a city like Tours or Lyons or Autun and the surrounding countryside.

Last summer I had the good fortune to catch another fleeting glimpse of Gaulish country-life. Modern Trèves is a prosperous provincial town, and wants to expand. A big building-scheme was proposed after the war which would take in a large unoccupied area near the railway-track to the west of the town, outside the line of the old Roman walls. Fortunately one of the directors of the local Museum, Dr. Loeschke, is an enterprising archaeologist. Certain finds reported from the proposed building-area made him suspect the presence of buried ruins, and he asked for permission to dig. At the time of my visit more than twenty temples and shrines had been unearthed, all outside the city-walls and all, as far as they could be identified, dedicated, not to the deities of Graeco-Roman mythology, but to the local Celtic gods. It was the worshipping-ground of the *extramurani*, the country-folk whose business had brought them to the neighbourhood of the city, but whose interests and traditions, economic as well as religious, belonged to the country, not to the town. These were the peasants whom St. Jerome heard speaking a Celtic dialect in the streets of Trèves as late as the end of the fourth century.

According to Professor Rostovtzeff these peasants were never properly incorporated in the body politic of the Roman Empire, though some of the emperors in the second and third centuries made belated attempts to deal with the problem. To the end the *pagani* did the work, paid taxes which usually took the form of forced labour, and gave Rome the finest of her conscript-troops; but they were never Roman citizens in the full sense of the word. How far the Russian professor has proved his point is matter for discussion, though none can dispute the extraordinary interest of his two long chapters on country-life in the Roman provinces: his comparison with Russian conditions before the war shows the experience of actual observation. In the later chapters of his book he interprets, perhaps too boldly, the

catastrophe of the third century in the light of this experience[1]: the long series of civil wars between the armies of East and West, of Gaul and Italy and Africa, are for him only so many phases in the struggle of a peasant-army against the privileged classes within the walls of the cities. More than half a century of internal strife ends in an economic collapse as striking as the crisis through which so many countries of modern Europe have just passed. In Egypt an *artaba* of wheat (= 3 *modii* according to Roman measures) never cost more than 7 or 8 *drachmae* during the first two centuries of the Empire. Under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus famine-prices drove it to 18 or 20 *drachmae*: a century later we find it selling for the amazing figure of 120,000 *drachmae*. No wonder that the papyri of the period tell a tale of unbearable misery. Here are some of 21 questions put to an Egyptian oracle about the middle of the third century: "Is my property to be sold by auction? Shall I become a beggar? Shall I take to flight? Shall I receive my salary? Am I to become a member of the municipal council?"

That last question throws light on the final stage of Roman economic decay. Whether we hold with Professor Rostovtzeff that the Roman system collapsed because it failed to absorb the country-populations, or whether we attribute its fall to some mysterious, universal failure of energy and initiative—how little creative work was done during this period, even by the Greeks of the East, who had shown themselves so inventive and progressive during the Hellenistic era!—whatever motive we may allege as the cause of Roman failure—economic, biological, moral, intellectual or religious—there is no getting away from the extraordinary sense of physical exhaustion which characterises the life of the later Roman Empire. Men

[1] He certainly exaggerates the role of the army as conscious representatives of the countryfolk in their struggle with the towns. The trouble is that our evidence for this period, literary and non-literary, is so fragmentary that we are thrown back on guess-work for an explanation of facts which are themselves certain.

had struggled so long against their fate that they were weary to death; religion was the one inspiring force which made creative work still possible. And this sense of physical exhaustion is nowhere more apparent than in the life of the towns. Slowly, but irresistibly, the great machine-like system of the imperial civil service bore down with increasing weight on the citizens whose status made them most directly responsible for the finances of the Empire. To be a serf on some great imperial estate was bad enough, for there was no prospect of escape; but to be a member of the municipal council was infinitely worse. The serf had to labour with his hands, and to rear his children for never-ending labour; but the *decurio* or the *curialis* had to bear the full weight of Roman taxation, and was answerable in his person and property for whatever extraordinary levies might be demanded by imperial policy. We can still read the records of such levies in the papyri of Oxyrhynchus: now it is bread "for the soldiers and sailors on the march," now chaff for delivery "to the most noble soldiers marching through the city," now money to be voted for gold crowns to be presented to the emperor. Under Diocletian two sons of town-councillors were appointed "to forward wine and barley down the river." Their duty was to accompany the caravan to Alexandria and be present at the delivery of the freight. Instead of fulfilling their "liturgy" (how the Church has transformed that name!), they simply bolted and disappeared: their action is typical of all economic and social life in the later Roman Empire. It had not always been so. Private munificence, as shown in the generous endowment of public institutions, is the most marked feature of Roman civilisation in the days of Pliny and the Antonines. Professor Rostovtzeff quotes some of the sums made over to the cities by private benefactors of the first two centuries: they can only be compared with the endowments of American millionaires. Two centuries later—and what a change!

AUBREY GWYNN.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

II

O CONCHOBHAIR'S CUP.

1. Cuaċ ríoġ Connaċt cuanna réad
buaḋa d'fíon Ċonnaċt a ċlúd
mar tá an bile ór ġéaġaiḃ Ġréag
réad fine ór na réadaiḃ rúd.

2. Cuaċ ríoġ Fáil ní i ḃralaċ ḃíor
daḃaċ d'fíon gan cáin dá ríor
ní cneardha a ċleiṫ gríoḃḋa an ġréar
ríoġḋa an béar a ḃeiṫ mar ḃíor.

3. Cia tuġ dó an fíon do ċruṫ cáċ
nó gá fruṫ i mbíoḋ a ḃruaċ
gá pubaill ruairc nó gá ríoṫ
fríoṫ ar cuairt ċuġainn [doṁ] ċuaċ.

4. Nó i mbruġ finn-ġil Ḋuiḃḋ do ḃí
nó ag ingin Ḋuilḃ a Ḋé
nó [ag] Cearmaid mór fa mór gnaoi
[. . .] do ḋearmaid ag a ól é.

5. Nó i Ripe géag Ḃanḃa [i m]bruġ
dá dtarla an réad ní réad mion
ní ċioḃra a luaċ do Ḃóinn Ḃreag
a feal doṁ ċuaċ óir [doṁ] fíor.

6. Tuirċairċa flaṫa ag fíor Ċliaṫ
dá [fraċa] fa ċion 'ga ċríoċ
créad do ṫeilg a céin an cuaċ
a luaċ dá ċeird féin ní fríoṫ.

7. Eoin ir a leabta ar a lár
ealta 'r a mbeoil béal ar béal
lón a n-il-dealbaighe d'ór
lón ingean-ghlaine na n-éan.

8. Eilte ar cupa fíte an fir
muca ríte fail i bfail
dreagain 'n-a coilba agus coin
doimh go gcomhla n-eagair air.

9. Eoin bar ndeargh 'r a ndruim re a taoib
mar do cuim an ceard go cóir
luct 'gar cormhail cleara ceoil
eoin 'r a rleara d'arnaib óir.

10. A-tá buadha eile air
cuanna bleidhe bleidhe an fir
tosbaidh mian flatha ar gach fleidh
do bein dá dtrian data ar dighe.

11. A-tá cupa d'ór ag Aodh
do lá flógh Suca 'n-a fuan
a-tá craicneach eile d'ór
mun mbleidhe mhór fairrcleach fuar.

12. Cupa Í Conchobair caoimh é
comh-cubaidh a-raon 'r a rí
cupa Í Dhuach 'r a dhreagain faoi
eagail le mnaoi an cuach ad-cí.

13. Cupa go nghréar ríde rein
a ghréar dá mhine ní mair
tall i gcuach na gcuach a-muigh
luach a bfuil ann agus air.

14. Cuirn áille ag tadall re a taob
fir nach fgarann fgáile a méar
blaorg imleach dafad fleadh fion
ar ar bean ghríob ingneach éan.

15. Sáċ cloċ i mbéil-fleirg a buirb
a-maċ ón béil-fleirg do bailg
cloċ ní ċuir deig-ceann Guill deirg
do ċeilg [an] ċuirm d'eirteall airg.

16. Cupa naċ bí lá gan fleiḋ
cupa tá 'r do bí fa bail
ní hion-fluagaiḋ féad mar rain.
le a méad foil d'iol-buaḋaiḃ air.

Translation

1. Noblest of treasures is the King of Connachta's bowl; to fill it is a glory for Connachta's wine; as this tree o'ertops the races of Greeks this heirloom is beyond all others.

2. The King of Fal's bowl is not kept hidden, a vessel for wine of faultless price; 'twere unseemly to hide it; wondrous its beauty, princely its use.

3. Who once poured into it foreign wine? In what stream was it dipped? What joyous tent or fairy-mound was visited by it on its way to us?

4. Was it in Bodhbh's fair-peaked mansion? Or, O God, was it owned by Dolbh's daughter? Or by great well-loved Cearmaid who forgot it while drinking of it?

5. Or was it Banbha's hand in a castle in Rife from which comes this treasure so precious? She shall never again give to Bóinn of the Breagha aught as valuable as the hero's possession of the golden bowl.

6. Of the royal prosperity of Cliu's hero—which must be his owing to his love for his land—what part did (the payment for) this cup take away? Its maker can not have received its value.

7. Birds and their nesting-places—flocks of them, beak to beak—carved on its side; great their varied beauty in gold, and the gleaming of their claws.

8. On the hero's chased cup are does and fairy-swine close together; on its side are dragons and hounds and oxen even up to its shapely top.

9. Red-clawed birds with gold-ribbed sides, their backs to the cup's side, seem—so well the artist formed them—as though about to sing.

10. Other virtues too has this noblest of bowls, the hero's bowl; at each feast it rouses princely spirit and gives two-thirds of the wine's face-flushing.

11. A golden cup has Aodh—he has sack-fulls of gold besides—which casts into slumber Suca's hosts around the great cool indented (?) bowl.

12. Tis goodly O Conchobhair's bowl—fair alike it and its prince; 'tis the goblet of Duach's scion with his dragons on it; the woman who sees them shudders.

13. 'Tis a bowl with fairy chasing; the equal of what is in it and on it no othe bowl, however fair-carved, possesses.

14. Beautiful cups are ever in motion around it; but the shadows of the hand holding them never leave this wide-edged wine-bestowing shell, from whic some griffin took its young.

15. Every jewel on the border of its side protrudes from the border; yet no ston is displaced by the goodly hero of red Goll whom the drink rouses to d his "hero-bound."

16. 'Tis a cup quaffed every day, a cup ever blessed; not to be cast in fight is treasure like it with its many charms.

Notes

Text is R. I. A. 23 L 17, p. 135, except for readings noted below.

1*a* For cuanna "handsome" as noun *cf.* v. 10 and *Ir. Monthly*, 1922, p. 250 v. 2. *b* clúd "covering." *c* an bile is O Conchobhair. Greeks = "Irish," as often. 2 *b* cíor *c* cleirċ. 3 *a* cáċ = "foreigner," as often. *b* bruaċ *c* popuill *d* an ċuaċ. 4 *a* na mbr. Bodhbh, Dolbh, Cearmaid are of Tuatha Dé Danaan *c* .i. (overlined). *d* as ós hé. Rime for gnaoi required. Read raoi . . . gá? 5 *a* no .i. (overlined) fir (overlined) g. b. ra bruġ. Reading is uncertain. For Rife *cf. Leabhar Gabhála* Macalister and McNeill pp. 207, 217. *d* óir (space vacant) fíor. 6 *b* noeaċa, cníoċ *c* ċuaċ *d* ceird. 8 *a* a cura. *b* f. a f. *c* colba. 9 *a* taoiḃ; ceard. 10 *a* atáid. *b* cuan in bl. *c* tog-. 11 *b* lad. *c* craic-neaċ "skins" *i.e.* "bags"? Or simply "there is a gold overlaying around the etc.,"? *d* fairicleaċ, meaning uncertain. *Cf.* fairicill O'Reilly; *airchell* K. M.? 12 *a* hí, hé. *c* hí d. 13 *c* a c. na c. 14 *a* cuir (overlined) a. a tagall. *c* blaoirg i. daṁa fl. 15 *a* For this meaning of fleasg *cf. forflesc* W. W. *c* cuir (overlined); guil. Ros Guill, Co. Don.? *d* ċeilg cuir (overlined); aig. 16 Absence of *dúnadh* suggests that poem is incomplete.

THE APPLICATION OF ELECTRICITY TO CHEMICAL INDUSTRY[1]

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ENERGY in the form of heat or water-power can be readily transformed into electricity, and in this form it can be easily transported to the exact place and in the exact quantity required. Electricity can be easily and efficiently transformed into light, heat, or energy of motion. It is on these properties that the commercial reputation of electricity has been built, and it is on account of these properties that national schemes of electrification are undertaken. There is, however, another property of electricity which in recent years has given rise to a great and growing industry, and which has placed at the disposal of the modern world many important products otherwise unobtainable. That property is the ease with which electricity may be made to bring about certain chemical changes. It is the object of this article to give some account of the main lines along which this electro-chemical industry is developing.

The object of chemical industry is to take the chemical compounds occurring in the earth and to rearrange them to suit our convenience; that is, to obtain from them such elements or compounds as we want. The application of electricity to this purpose may be said to begin with the discovery in 1800, by Nicholson and Carlisle, that water can be decomposed by an electric current. Pure water will not conduct an electric current. Suppose that two pieces of platinum foil are attached to the two terminals of a direct current supply of electricity, a lamp being included in the circuit. If the pieces of platinum are dipped into distilled water contained in a glass or

[1] From a lecture given at the inaugural meeting of the Engineering Society of University College, Galway.

porcelain dish, the lamp does not light up when the current is switched on at the main. If now a little sulphuric acid or caustic soda solution is mixed with the water, the lamp lights up, showing that the current is passing. At the same time bubbles of gas will be seen rising from each piece of foil. Thus, although pure water is a non-conductor of electricity, the addition of sulphuric acid or caustic soda makes it a conductor. During the passage of the electric current the water is decomposed into hydrogen and oxygen, the two gases which combine chemically to form water.

The decomposition of a liquid by the passage through it of an electric current is called electrolysis. When any given electric current is used for the electrolysis of water, the hydrogen always appears at one terminal and the oxygen at the other. These are called respectively the negative electrode or cathode and the positive electrode or anode. The water containing the substance necessary to make it a conductor of electricity is called the electrolyte.

It is well known that when hydrogen combines with oxygen a considerable quantity of heat is evolved. When, therefore, we make hydrogen we are making a source of energy, and since we cannot create energy, it follows that in producing a given quantity of hydrogen by the electrolysis of water we must expend on the process an amount of electrical energy at least equivalent to the heat evolved when that quantity of hydrogen burns again in oxygen to form liquid water. Now the heat evolved by the combustion of a given quantity of hydrogen has been carefully determined by experiment. The number of kilowatt hours equivalent to a given quantity of heat is also known. From these data it is possible to calculate the maximum quantity of hydrogen and oxygen that could be obtained from a given amount of electrical energy. The result of this calculation is that one unit of electricity (one kilowatt hour) should give 8·8 cubic

feet of hydrogen and 4·4 cubic feet of oxygen measured at 0 degrees centigrade and at standard atmospheric pressure.[1] These figures represent the ideal to be aimed at in a commercial plant. The efficiency of a plant, expressed as a percentage, is the actual performance multiplied by a hundred and divided by the calculated output per unit of electricity used.

The electrolysis of water is now carried out on a large scale in Europe and in America. There is a considerable demand for oxygen, chiefly for use in medicine and for oxyacetylene welding. The electrolytic process for its manufacture must compete with the more generally applicable fractional distillation of liquid air. The power requirements in the latter case with modern improved plant would probably be low; but for the bye-product, free nitrogen, there is no market. On the other hand, there is a growing demand for hydrogen. This gas is now used in commerce for the production of synthetic ammonia and synthetic methyl alcohol, and for "hardening" fish oils, to render them suitable for soap-making. For these purposes the hydrogen must be very pure, and electrolysis provides the best method for obtaining the pure gas. Again, the recent Bergius pocess for making fuel oils from coal depends on the chemical combination of more hydrogen with the compounds of carbon and hydrogen already in the coal. The hydrogen for this purpose need not be pure, and Bergius obtains it by the decomposition of hydro-carbons which are given off from the coal during the first stages of the process. However, given a sufficient demand for oxygen and sufficiently low current costs, electrolytic hydrogen might be used for this or any other purpose.

In the commercial process for electrolysing water the electrolyte is usually a solution of caustic soda, and the electrodes are of nickel or iron, sometimes plated with

[1] The volume of hydrogen obtainable from water is double the volume of oxygen.

cobalt. In order to prevent mixing of the bubbles of hydrogen and oxygen, a diaphragm of porous material, flannel or asbestos, is placed between the electrodes. The efficiency of these hydrogen-oxygen generators is high. For many forms it is claimed that one kilowatt-hour will give eight cubic feet of hydrogen and four cubic feet of oxygen. This figure does not include the loss of energy involved in converting the high-voltage alternating current delivered from the power station to the low-voltage direct current suitable for the economic decomposition of water. This loss amounts to about twenty-five per cent. Therefore one unit delivered at the factory would produce three-quarters of the quantities mentioned above, that is, six cubic feet of hydrogen and three cubic feet of oxygen.

If, instead of dilute sulphuric acid or caustic soda, we use as an electrolyte a solution of a salt of a metal, the current will also pass. In the case of certain metals, however, we shall not see an evolution of hydrogen; but the metal will be deposited on the cathode. If, for example, we take a solution of copper sulphate, a deposit of metallic copper will be obtained. Furthermore, if instead of platinum foil as anode we use a piece of copper, we find that, while the current is passing, the copper is being removed from the anode and deposited on the cathode.

The theoretical explanation of this process is as follows: copper sulphate is a compound of one atom of copper with one of sulphur and four of oxygen—$CuSO_4$. When the salt is dissolved in water it breaks up into two parts—a positively charged copper atom, Cu, and a negatively charged group, SO_4. Now when the terminals of a supply of electricity, the anode being of copper, are dipped into the solution, the positively charged atoms of copper are attracted to the negatively charged cathode and are deposited upon it. On the other hand, the negatively charged SO_4 groups are attracted to the anode and draw the positively charged atoms of copper from it, to form fresh molecules of $CuSO_4$, the copper

atoms of which, in their turn, pass to the cathode, to be deposited there. Thus the anode copper is gradually worn away and deposited on the cathode.

These phenomena form the basis of the oldest electrochemical industry, that of electroplating, whereby a metal is coated, either for ornament or protection, with another metal, such as gold, silver, nickel, copper or tin. Advantage is also taken of them in refining certain metals, notably copper. For many of the uses to which copper is put, especially the construction of electrical machinery, the metal as it comes from the blast furnace is not sufficiently pure. Moreover, the impurities may include one or more of the precious metals (gold, silver, platinum), and these are recovered during the refining. About 80 per cent. of the world's copper supply is electrolytically refined.

Until recent years electrolysis was made use of only for refining metals. It is now being extended to the extraction of the metals from their ores. Thus, the production of zinc by the usual method of heating the ore with charcoal is wasteful and expensive. About 25 per cent. of the zinc is lost by volatilisation, and the retorts in which the heating is conducted have an average life of only about thirty days. Hence an electrolytic process is now being used in America. The roasted ore is treated with dilute sulphuric acid, which extracts the zinc, forming a solution of zinc sulphate ($ZnSO_4$). This solution is carefully purified to remove metals, which would interfere with the deposition of the zinc in a suitable form, and is then submitted to electrolysis, a lead anode being used. The Anaconda Copper Co. at Great Falls, Montana, is said to produce 150 tons of electrolytic zinc per day.

Perhaps the last metal to whose production we might expect to find electrolysis applied is iron, which is produced in enormous quantities and very cheaply by the blast furnace. Yet an electrolytic process for the extraction of iron from its ores is being developed in America.

This process, known as the Eustis process, depends upon the fact that a solution of the compound of iron and chlorine called ferric chloride ($FeCl_3$) will dissolve iron, forming a solution of ferrous chloride in which one atom of iron is combined with two of chlorine ($FeCl_2$). Even when the iron is combined with sulphur, forming ferrous sulphide (FeS), as it is in one iron ore, a solution of ferric chloride will take away the iron from the sulphur. In the Eustis process this ore is leached with a solution of ferric chloride, and the solution of ferrous chloride formed is separated from the precipitated sulphur and the " gangue " or extraneous matter of the ore. The solution is then submitted to electrolysis, whereby a portion of the iron is deposited on the cathode, leaving a solution of ferric chloride, which is used again for the extraction of a further supply of ore. By using a cylindrical cathode, suitably manipulated, iron pipes may be made. The iron produced by the electrolytic process is 99·99 per cent. pure, and is said to be rust resisting, very ductile, and of a relatively high thermal and electrical conductivity.

The electrolysis of aqueous solutions of salts is used for other purposes besides the plating, refining and extraction of the metals. The most notable of these uses is the manufacture of alkali. In commerce the word alkali may be taken to mean the hydroxides of sodium and potassium (NaOH and KOH), called from their properties caustic soda and caustic potash, and the carbonates of these two metals. These substances are among the most fundamental and important of modern chemical products. Their manufacture is a key industry. Alkalis are essential in the great soap and glass industries, in the organic chemical industries, and in an immense number of other industries in which chemical changes form a major or a minor part, while washing soda, or sodium carbonate (Na_2CO_3), and baking soda, or sodium bicarbonate ($NaHCO_3$), are common household requisites.

The history of the alkali industry is not unconnected

in its earlier stages with the economic history of Ireland. In the eighteenth century one of the chief sources of alkali was kelp, the ash of seaweed, and to produce it immense quantities of seaweed were burnt along the west coast of Ireland. It was doubtless the possession of this essential raw material that enabled Ireland to win the world-wide reputation for soap and glass which she enjoyed at that time. But kelp was a poor source of alkali. The best samples contained only five per cent. Hence it is not surprising that, with the growth of chemical science, a better method of procuring alkali should be found. At the end of the eighteenth century the French chemist Leblanc, improving on a process invented by Bryan O'Higgins, devised a commercial method of obtaining sodium carbonate from common salt. The process was worked successfully in France until political events led to the failure of Leblanc's factory, and when in 1823 James Muspratt, of Dublin, opened at Liverpool the first large scale Leblanc works to be established in England, the doom of kelp as a source of alkali was sealed. In Muspratt's hands the new process soon yielded pure sodium carbonate and caustic soda, at a cost not very different from that of the inferior kelp, and it soon also gave as a bye-product an article new to commerce, chlorine. The chlorine was combined with lime to form bleaching powder, or chloride of lime, and had and still has a large market for bleaching cotton and other textiles.

The Leblanc process and, to a lesser extent, another process devised later by the Belgian chemist Solvay were responsible for the growth of the great alkali industry during the nineteenth century. Both operations involve a series of complex chemical changes. In the first decade of the twentieth century the simpler electrolytic method began to be developed, and this competitor is now rapidly driving the older processes from the field. Within recent years many large Leblanc works have been dismantled and replaced by electrolytic plant.

The electrolytic process for the manufacture of caustic soda consists essentially in passing an electric current through a solution of common salt. Common salt, or sodium chloride, consists of molecules in which one atom of sodium is combined with one of chlorine. Its chemical formula is NaCl. When it is dissolved in water and an electric current is passed through the solution, the chlorine atoms with their negative charges travel to the anode, where they lose their charges and come off as chlorine gas. The positively charged sodium atoms move to the cathode, where it might be supposed that they would be deposited just as copper is under similar circumstances. But sodium is a metal which reacts chemically with water, one atom of sodium displacing one atom of hydrogen from each molecule of water, and forming caustic soda; hence, in the electrolysis of salt the moment an atom of sodium is deposited it reacts immediately with one of the molecules of water which surround it. Consequently the net result of the passage of the current is that chlorine is evolved at the anode and hydrogen at the cathode, while the water round the cathode contains caustic soda in solution.

But the caustic soda will not remain long undisturbed near the cathode. The tendency of all substances in solution to spread themselves throughout the solvent, supplemented by the changes in specific gravity and temperature produced by the chemical changes which are taking place, will soon bring the caustic soda to the neighbourhood of the anode, where it will come in contact with chlorine. Now chlorine reacts with caustic soda to form sodium chloride and sodium hypochlorite, a compound of sodium chlorine and oxygen (NaClO). The mixing of the cathode and anode liquids would thus defeat the object of the soda manufacturer, and in an electrolytic soda plant special precautions are taken to prevent such mixing. The patent literature of the past twenty years contains the records of many ingenious devices to secure this end.

Sodium hypochlorite is a powerful bleaching agent and an excellent disinfectant. Hence the solution obtained by the electrolysis of salt with mixing of the anode and cathode liquids is also produced in commerce. It is sold under the name of "electrolytic bleach" or "laundry bleach," and certain borough councils in England make it with their own electric lighting plants, to use as a disinfectant for streets and public buildings.

The demand for alkali is universal and growing, and caustic soda and the carbonates of soda are manufactured in immense quantities. The imports of alkali into the Free State, where none is manufactured, amounted to over 11,000 tons in 1925, and were valued at more than £90,000. On the other hand the demand for chlorine as bleaching powder or as compressed gas (in which form it is now obtainable) is not equal to the quantity produced in supplying the market for alkali. Hence progressive alkali manufacturers are forced to find an outlet for their excess chlorine. This they do by making chlorinated organic compounds, such as chloracetic acid and benzyl chloride, which are used in the manufacture of synthetic dyes and drugs and other organic chemicals. Thus an electrolytic alkali factory acts as a stimulus for the growth of other chemical industries.

Molten compounds of the metals will also conduct an electric current, the compounds being themselves decomposed with deposition of the metal at the cathode. This fact was first discovered by Sir Humphrey Davy, who in 1807 discovered and prepared the metals sodium and potassium by the electrolysis of fused caustic soda and caustic potash. In 1890 Castner applied this process commercially, and large quantities of sodium are now manufactured by it.

There are other metals besides sodium and potassium which are not desposited from their aqueous solutions by the passage of an electric current. These metals are also difficult or impossible to obtain by applying the usual

metallurgical principles, and their commercial production is entirely due to the application of electro-chemical methods. They are produced by the electrolysis either of their molten compounds or of solutions of their compounds in other molten substances. Electro-chemistry has thus given us a number of metals which are useful or even indispensable to our modern methods of living. The chief of these are magnesium and aluminium. The curious and rare metal cerium, whose fine particles take fire when the metal is abraded with a file or a rough wheel, and which (alloyed with iron) forms the "flint" of the new lighters, is also an electro-chemical product.

Magnesium and cerium are produced by the electrolysis of their fused chlorides. Magnesium finds application in flashlight photography, and also forms, with aluminium, the alloy magnalium, and with aluminium and copper duralumin. Both of these alloys combine strength with lightness, and are used in the construction of aeroplane and motor car parts.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of electro-chemical industry is the production of aluminium. This metal was first obtained by Wöhler in 1827 by heating the chloride ($AlCl_3$) of the metal with potassium. Bunsen obtained it in 1854 by the electrolysis of the fused chloride; but this method is not practicable on a large scale. Although in the fifties of the last century Deville worked out a method of manufacture based on Wöhler's reactions, the metal remained little more than a chemical curiosity until 1886. In that year Hall in America and Héroult in France both hit upon the same plan for manufacturing aluminium by electrolysis, and their processes (which differ only in detail) now furnish the world's supply of the metal.

Aluminium occurs in the mineral bauxite combined with oxygen as Al_2O_3. Large Deposits of bauxite occur at Larne, in the County Antrim, where they are mined by the British Aluminium Company. In the processes of Hall and Héroult the mineral cryolite, a fluoride of

sodium and aluminium, is melted by passing through it a powerful alternating current, and bauxite, freed by previous treatment from iron, silica, and other impurities, is added and dissolves in the molten mass. A direct current is then substituted for the alternating one, when aluminium in the molten state begins to separate at the cathode. The amount of electrical energy used in producing aluminium is very considerable, and for successful commercial work must be obtainable at a very low price.

In the electrolysis of aqueous solutions or of fused salts, electricity is the direct agent by which the chemical change is brought about. In the electric furnace, which is also applied in industry, electricity is used to obtain the high temperatures necessary to produce certain chemical changes. The electric furnace owes its development to the purely academic researches of the late Professor Henri Moissan, of Paris. There are three kinds: arc, resistance, and induction. The arc furnace is a reproduction on a large scale of the arc lamp, once a familiar street light and still widely used in projection lanterns. The temperature of the flame between the carbon poles of the electric arc approximates to four thousand degrees centigrade, and is the highest temperature that has yet been obtained. It will melt all the metals and boil most of them, and it will even vaporise such refractory substances as lime and carbon. In the resistance furnace the high temperature is obtained by passing the current through a body of high electric resistance, which is usually the substance under treatment. The induction furnace, the most interesting of the three kinds, depends on the fact, discovered by Faraday, that if two closed circuits are near to one another, when an alternating current is generated in one of them, an alternating current will flow in the other.

There are two types of induction furnace, called from the rate of vibration of the alternating current, low frequency and high frequency furnaces. The low frequency furnace is used for the treatment of molten metals. It

consists of a hollow ring of iron lined with a refractory material. Outside the ring and insulated from it is wound a wire through which an alternating circuit is passed. The arrangement is such that when a small current at high voltage is passed through the wire, it gives rise in the ring of metal forming the charge to a large current at low voltage, which heats up and melts the charge. In technical language, the charge in the furnace is the short circuited secondary of a step-down transformer. A disadvantage of this furnace is that, owing to the low voltage of the secondary current, it will not pass through a ring formed of lumps of metal. This difficulty is got over by leaving a little of the molten charge behind at the end of each operation to form a conductor for the beginning of the next.

The high frequency furnace was invented by Dr. E. F. Nothrup, who began his experiments at the University of Princeton in 1916, and has since carried them on with a subvention from the Ajax Metal Co. The apparatus is scarcely yet beyond the experimental stage; but it promises to be of immense importance in high temperature industries. The principle of this method is that, if a conducting substance is surrounded by a coil of wire insulated from it, and an alternating current of high frequency (25,000 to 50,000 vibrations per second) is passed through the coil, eddy currents (or Foucault currents) are induced in the conducting substance, which therefore becomes hot. Such a furnace has many advanvantages. Unlike the low frequency furnace, continuity in the material is not necessary, while the high temperature is reached very rapidly. In small furnaces a temperature of 2,500 degrees may be attained in less than ten minutes. The obstacles to the construction of large furnaces appear to be altogether electrical, and to centre chiefly round the difficulty of obtaining high frequency currents on a large scale at a reasonable cost. When these difficulties are overcome, there is no doubt

that the high frequency electric furnace will open up a new era in applied electro-chemistry.

Characteristic products of the electric furnace are carborundum and calcium carbide. Carborundum is a compound of silicon and carbon (SiC), obtained by heating a mixture of sand (*i.e.*, silicon dioxide, SiO_2) and coke in a resistance furnace. It is an important abrasive, being nearly as hard as the diamond, and is used instead of the latter for cutting glass. Calcium carbide (CaC_2) is obtained from lime (CaO) and coke or anthracite in the resistance furnace. This substance is used not only for making acetylene gas, but also as a medium for the "fixation" of nitrogen. At a temperature of about one thousand degrees centigrade it combines with the nitrogen of the air to form calcium cyanamide. As the latter body yields ammonia in contact with water, it is used as a fertiliser.

The fixation of nitrogen is accomplished in two other ways by the electric furnace. In the first way air is blown through the arc, when the nitrogen combines with the oxygen to form oxides of nitrogen, which give nitric acid when dissolved in water. In the second way, known as the Serpek process, aluminium oxide is heated with carbon in the furnace in a current of air, gives aluminium nitride (AlN), which when thrown into water gives ammonia (NH_3) and aluminium oxide.

The electric furnace also finds application in metallurgy. It is now exclusively used as the source of heat for melting platinum and certain other rare and high melting metals. Although experiments and patents on its use in the metallurgy of iron date from as early as 1853, the first large scale commercial furnace for this purpose was built and successfully worked by Major Stassano at Rome in 1898. This furnace was of the arc type. In 1904 Keller constructed a resistance furnace for smelting iron. In 1906 Héroult carried out an investigation for the Canadian Government into the possibility of

smelting Canadian ores by an electrothermic process. He showed that the proposition was an economic one, and that in an electric furnace peat charcoal could be substituted for coke without being briquetted with the ore. Following on Héroult's report, three Swedish engineers—Grönwall, Lindblact and Stalhane—undertook the construction of a furnace at Domarfvet. Two years and twenty thousand pounds were spent, and seven furnaces were tried before a satisfactory plant was evolved. It is said that there are nineteen of these furnaces now at work in Sweden and eleven distributed throughout Norway, Switzerland, Italy and Japan. They work best with peat or wood charcoal.

The position of the electric furnace in the steel industry is much more secure than in the metallurgy of iron. High grade steel commands a high price, and the fact that it costs a little more will not harm a process which produces a uniform and superior article. Steel is obtained by melting iron and bringing the carbon content to a certain proportion—from 0·15 to 1·5 per cent. according to the character of the steel required. Phosphorus, sulphur, and excess of carbon are the impurities present in ordinary iron, which have a very deleterious effect on its properties. In steel refining the molten metal is treated for the removal of these impurities. The advantages of the electric furnace are that the heating of the iron to its melting point takes place rapidly, the temperature can be more easily controlled, and the whole process can be accomplished without bringing the charge into contact with furnace gases, which are liable to cause contamination. Hence electrothermic methods are used to produce the highest grades of steel, and about a thousand electrothermic steel refining plants are now in use all over the world. The furnaces are so far mostly of the arc type, but resistance and low frequency induction furnaces are also used. It would seem, however, that when the difficulties of large scale construction already

referred to are overcome, the high frequency electric furnace will be the steel refining furnace of the future.

The above does not purport to be an exhaustive account of the various ways in which electricity has been brought into the service of chemical industry. Enough has been said to show how wide and how deep are its ramifications in the industries which supply the great variety of substances necessary for our modern civilisation. Yet applied electro-chemistry is still in its infancy. As scientific research and technical development proceed, it is sure to find its way into spheres of chemical industry in which it is now unknown. Cheap electricity is essential for its progress, and the development of large hydro-electric schemes for the supply of light, heat and mechanical power on a national scale will, if consistently and persistently carried out, surely leave waste or "off peak" electricity, which can be sold at the very low price which the chemical manufacturer can afford to pay. The country which adopts a national policy of electrification is laying the foundations for a centre of chemical industry.

In Ireland we have entered on such a policy, and we should remember that, while the Shannon will not supply us with the immense quantities of very cheap current necessary to provide our farmers with all the fixed nitrogen they require or to enable us to compete in the aluminium industry, it might well supply the energy for some of the other processes that have been mentioned in this article. The essential feature of industrial electrochemistry is, however, its youth. Within the next twenty years it will probably develop in directions now undreamt of. A country well supplied with electricity, such as Ireland will be, will have its share in such developments provided it has a supply of trained chemists capable of utilising the new weapon in new ways.

THOMAS DILLON.

HENRY BORDEAUX

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

IN past years the French novel was apt to be studied by foreign readers for the picture it conveyed of the manners and morals of Parisian society—of a small group, that is to say, of luxury-loving and self-indulgent persons. Maupassant, Alphonse Daudet, Bourget in his earlier years, and a host of lesser men seldom strayed far from the haunts of the very rich. It was widely assumed that life in Paris was a correct reflex of the life of France. To-day novelists are keen to correct this mistake. It is the traditional soul of the French people that they aim at revealing, and this essential soul has to be studied, not in cosmopolitan Paris, nor in the exclusive salons of the old Catholic aristocracy, but quite frankly in the *vie de province*, in the every-day life of humble folk of the peasantry and bourgeoisie. It is thus that Barrès has revealed to us the people of Lorraine, Mauriac and Lafon the Gironde, Bazin the peasantry of central France, Pierre Loti Brittany and the Pyrenees, Francis Jammes the Basque provinces, the author of "Maria Chapdelaine" the life of French-speaking Canada. Although administratively France may remain one of the most centralised countries in Europe, in literature regionalism has triumphed. And it is in keeping with this newer tradition that Henry Bordeaux should have constituted himself the champion of Savoy and the interpreter of the special characteristics of the Savoyard race.

This, for him, was no mere matter of choice. Born at Thonon, on the shores of Lake Leman, the first seventeen years of his life were spent in his "pays natal." More than that, he came, on his mother's side, of a legal

family of long standing in Savoy, with a father revered for his strict integrity and high moral character. Thus he grew up in the somewhat austere atmosphere of French legal society—the *gens de la robe*—in whom the sense of social tradition and of the sanctity of family life is strongly developed. Hence before the boy was sent to Paris to study law, he had imbibed the impressions and acquired many of the convictions which were to form the basis of the fifty odd volumes that constitute his creative work.

It is true that in his early manhood Paris threw her charm over Henry Bordeaux, so that he looked forward joyously to a literary life in the Quartier Latin; but at the age of twenty-five the death of his father re-called him to Thonon, and for five years he practised in the courts of his native town as the main support of his widowed mother and his seven younger brothers and sisters. At the time this change in his career appeared the blighting of all his hopes: in reality it was to supply him with an invaluable experience. For during those years his knowledge and understanding of every aspect of the life of his native province developed and deepened so that he never again lost touch with it. An ardent climber and hunter he has retained through life something of the robustness of the hardy, combative Savoyard race of which he feels himself to be a representative, and quite naturally it is to his native province that he has turned not only for the picturesque setting of his novels, but as the very source of their inspiration. Its history and its shrines, its saints and its heroes, its qualities and its foibles, all have brought grist to his literary mill.

Speaking broadly M. Bordeaux is a moralist before he is an artist. Sensitive as he is to the beauties of nature, vivid as are his word-paintings of his beloved Alps, whether in sunshine or in storm, his fundamental aim as a writer lies elsewhere. It is the moral aspect of contemporary life that absorbs him, the welfare of France,

the progress of Christian society, the threat to famil life from the disintegrating influences of much moder thought. The traditionalism in which he grew up wa strengthened in him by the study of Le Play and Josep de Maistre. On the spiritual side he is a devout clien of St. Francis de Sales, traditions of whom are so closel intertwined with the religious history of Savoy—was no Thonon itself evangelised by the Bishop of Geneva i person? Indeed he is so penetrated with the Saint' teaching that he cannot keep his name for long out o any moral discussion. And if he elects to become novelist it is because he believes emphatically in th analytical novel as being in the great French tradition the tradition of the moralist that stretches from Mon taigne and Francis de Sales to André Gide and Proust Happily M. Bordeaux rarely seeks to point a moral, bu rather to indicate in his narrative the moral problem tha necessarily presents itself. In a recent interview he ha described the novelist as "the historian of private life," and it is in his capacity of historian that he declines t regard his characters merely as individuals, but as th product of the social forces of the past. He is reporte to have expressed satisfaction in the fact that as a novelis he has substituted the conflict of generations for individua adventures. For him France has a special destiny t fulfil in the fortunes of Europe, and Savoy a special con tribution to make to the sum total of French civilisation and all the best of his writing groups itself loosely roun this basic thought.

His first novel, "Pays Natal" (1900), illustrates wha has just been said. In it he tells of the return of *déraciné*, Lucien Halande, to his native Annecy afte ten years' residence in Paris with the intention of sellin the paternal estate, and he describes how the love of hi home and the desire to serve his *pays natal* slowly gre up in him afresh and transformed his character. Man pages are devoted to the charm of the free open-air lif

of Savoy amid her lakes and forests, and we find in Bordeaux, as in René Bazin, a feeling akin to agony at the prospect of the gradual *dépérissement* of country life and the slow draining away of its once exuberant vitality by the pernicious attraction of what Verhaeren called the " ville tentaculaire." This first novel enjoyed the honour of being accepted by the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and only did not appear in its pages owing to the young author's impatience for immediate publication. It was quickly followed by " La Peur de Vivre " (1902), which at once established his literary position. Here his contention is that weak souls, deprived of the traditional supports of faith and home, look on life with fear and perplexity.

From that date onwards not a year has passed without one or more additions to the still growing list of M. Bordeaux's literary achievements. It were quite impossible in the space of an article to pass all his novels in review. Frankly they are of somewhat uneven merit. Two or three, however, stand out as showing at once greater virility of thought and a more perfect workmanship. The first of these by common consent is " Les Roquevillard " (1906).

The book opens with a charming picture of the vintage at La Vigie, the country home of the Roquevillard family near Chambéry, where M. Roquevillard is a leading member of the bar. Clearly the picture of the legal society of the town, austere and honourable, is taken from that which surrounded the author's own father and amid which he himself was brought up. Its strict moral standard was to be suddenly outraged by the elopement of young Maurice Roquevillard with the wife of a leading advocate, Maître Frasne, and the simultaneous disappearance of 100,000 frs. from the possession of the latter. The real culprit is Mme. Frasne, who believes with some excuse that she is entitled to this sum, but circumstances cause suspicion to fall at once

on her infatuated lover. Hence the double ruin, moral and financial, that threatens the ancient Roquevillard family. A *conseil de famille*, that characteristically French institution, is called by M. Roquevillard before he decides on the sale of the family estate of La Vigie, his only means of repaying the stolen sum and saving his son from prosecution. In an admirable scene the shocked relations sit in judgment. To them La Vigie has been, all through their lives, a sacred patrimony, the very hall-mark of their respectability. They exclaim with horror. But the old man points out that the actual estate is only the outward symbol of something far deeper :—

> Above the material inheritance I place the moral inheritance. It is not the patrimony that makes the family. It is the succession of generations that create and maintain the patrimony. A dispossessed family can always build up its estate anew. But when it has forfeited its tradition, its faith, its solidarity, its honour, when it is reduced to a mere collection of individuals inspired by opposing aims and each one placing his personal interests above the general well-being, then the family resembles a body deprived of its soul. . . . An estate may be bought back, but the virtue of a race can never be re-purchased. (p. 226).

After a year's absence in Italy Maurice, awakened from his infatuation, returns to face the painful situation that has arisen, and in the end some sort of rehabilitation is arrived at, thanks mainly to the loyal affection of his sister working upon the just anger of his father. The story was written over twenty years ago, and one feels, rather sadly, that the old man, so admirably portrayed with his high patriarchal views, belongs to a generation that has wholly passed away and that few modern families would take the escapade of one of their members quite so deeply to heart.

It would, however, be unfair to assume from this that Henry Bordeaux is of those who ceaselessly lament over our departed virtues. In one of the best of his post-war stories " La Résurrection de la Chair " (1920), he has

shown himself keenly alive to the newer moral dilemmas that war conditions have produced so widely, and treats them with clarity and common-sense. Madame Bermance, a pious widow of Grenoble, loses her son André during the fighting in Alsace and feels she has made, once for all, the supreme sacrifice for her country. But in the words of one of her humble neighbours, "on n'en finit pas si vite avec les morts," and in due course a letter from Alsace revealed the fact that André had become affianced to an Alsatian girl in whose home he had frequently been a guest and had left her with child. There was clear evidence that he had intended to marry Marie Ritzen had not death intervened, her social position being equal to his own. Both had been carried away by passion in the abnormal atmosphere and circumstance of war. What was his devout and Catholic mother to do? Such is the poignant problem that Henry Bordeaux pursues into all its ramifications, moral, religious and social. With a true instinct he brings the mother, at first utterly shocked and outraged, to a higher appreciation of her Christian duty, and she fetches the unhappy Marie to her own home and insists on her grandchild being born under her roof, although this means the estrangement of scandalised friends and relations. The story has for its background the life of the French peasantry, so suspicious, so credulous of treachery, so easily excited to violence.

The drama, however, had been hung up midway, and a year later M. Bordeaux published a sequel, "La Chair et l'Esprit," in which the issues become somewhat more involved. In the background we see Alsace delirious with delight at the Armistice and at the ceremonial reuniting of the two provinces with France—before all the administrative and ecclesiastical difficulties of the transfer had dimmed popular enthusiasm. Maria's child is two years old, and she leads a secluded life near Grenoble with Mme. Bermance, but at the Armistice her father

invites her back to Alsace, without her boy, and a rejected suitor of former days eagerly presents himself anew. Maria hastens back to Grenoble to evade him, but the possibility of her marriage has to be faced, and with it all the perplexing problems as to the future of the child and how family susceptibilities all round can best be soothed. Once again Madame Bermance acts the part of the fairy godmother, declines to allow either Maria or her boy to be sacrificed to the worldly views of the aspiring Ritzen family, and in the end devises a solution in which religious principle, Christian charity and a little sanctified common sense all have a part. Indeed the novel might well be studied with profit by those who, in this post-war period, are not infrequently brought up against similar cases and are apt to discover no *via media* between a rigid condemnation and a careless acquiescence.

It might fairly be argued that the true heroine of this powerful story is not Maria at all, but Madame Bermance, and indeed she is one of M. Bordeaux's most sympathetic creations. He has a happy aptitude for bringing out, in an attractive guise, the solid virtues of the French mother. Another example of this is old Madame Derize in "Les Yeux qui s'ouvrent," who loyally remains on good terms with both her son and her daughter-in-law when these appear hopelessly estranged from each other. None the less feminists can hardly be expected to accept without protest the rôle that the author almost invariably assigns to woman. For him she has no existence outside the circle of "la famille," and it has simply never occurred to him that she may be entitled to an independent life of her own choice beyond the right he concedes to her of a religious vocation. All his good women sacrifice themselves unhesitatingly for the benefit of their family. There is Marguerite, the sister of Maurice Roquevillard, who rejects her suitor in order to devote herself wholly to her father and brother. There is the pathetic little Raymonde, in "La Robe de Laine," one of M. Bordeaux's

most applauded heroines, who, neglected by a selfish husband, fades gently away, without a word of complaint, of some vague disease that no doctor can diagnose. It is not that M. Bordeaux has not an exalted opinion of womanhood; it is that he ruthlessly exacts from women an impossibly high standard. This attitude may be traced through all his writings, but it is most clearly defined in "Les Yeux qui s'ouvrent" (1910), a story entirely devoted to the rather minute domestic incompatibilities of the Derize *ménage*, Albert and Elizabeth. Slowly Elizabeth's eyes are opened to her failings in sympathy as a wife, in spite of her most correct conduct in externals, and in the end the couple are reunited, largely thanks to the existence of the two children. The underlying theme is the sanctity of the family which must be preserved even at the sacrifice of much of the individuality of the couple. But it is a family of which the father is to be the unquestioned head, and the wife—if she is to be the honoured second—has a narrow and difficult path to tread. She *must* be a true companion, intelligent, cultivated, appreciative; she must *never* be a rival, never cultivate independent tastes, never regard marriage "as a means of affirming her personality." "It is for the woman to understand, to accept, to adorn, the life of her husband" (p. 147). Poor woman! No wonder, if most Frenchmen agree with the novelist, that Frenchwomen are still denied the right to vote.

Some readers will rejoice that Henry Bordeaux is not invariably in a moralising mood. There is, for instance, a quite recent story, "Les Jeux Dangereux" (1926), a merely frivolous tale of winter sports and cosmopolitan society in the high Alps. "Le Fantôme de la rue Michel-Ange" (1921) is a rather superficial study of the spiritualistic mania which in Paris, as elsewhere, was so wide-spread after the war, in which a credulous father, a distressed Catholic mother and a scheming medium play the usual parts. "Ménages d'après

Guerre " (1920) consists of a series of humorous sketches of the varied effects of war on domestic life : the wife who prefers the duties of a hospital nurse to those of home ; the sentimental widow who wins universal sympathy and promptly makes a second wealthy marriage ; the young wife who is so comfortable with her parents that she cannot make up her mind to follow her husband to any garrison town whatever, and so forth. A story that has been much praised is " Yamilé sous les Cèdres " (1923), a sentimental love story of the Lebanon, the outcome of an expedition made by the author to Syria, with plenty of local colouring. But it is simply the East as seen by Western eyes and wholly lacks that clear characterisation that is, after all, M. Bordeaux's most solid quality when he is writing of his native province.

Savoy indeed has been far more to him than a useful and picturesque background for his fiction, and two of his most attractive volumes, not novels, have been wholly inspired by his life-long devotion to all that pertains to his *pays natal*, one his study of St. Francis de Sales, the other his " Paysages Romanesques des Alpes " (1906). This latter is a medley of history, description and social reflections. It is quite true, as he points out, that love of mountains and the passion for exploring them are an entirely modern taste. In the past they were objects of dread, only to be crossed in sheer necessity with prayer and courage. For long centuries the Alps were " montagnes maudites," and neither Voltaire nor Mme. de Stael, familiar as both were with them, have written—so he says—a word of praise of their beauty. And many authors, even Lamartine, who refer to them with admiration, only write of them as seen from below. It was reserved of course to Jean Jacques Rousseau to set the fashion of a real love of natural scenery. Yet surely the religious of those mountain monasteries, the Grande Chartreuse, the Great St. Bernard and others, who first selected a spot of supreme loneliness and then settled

there for life, must have had an intense if silent appreciation of nature even in her wildest moods.

Closely connected with all that pertains to Savoy is the figure of St. Francis de Sales, and he not only hovers, a benign tutelary genius, over many of M. Bordeaux's pages, but he has directly inspired perhaps the most charming of all his literary works. Every one is familiar with St. Francis as the author of the " Introduction à la Vie Dévote " and the director of Sainte Chantal, and these things Henry Bordeaux takes for granted in his " Saint François de Sales et notre Coeur de Chair " (1924), giving us in addition many illuminating details of the scenes of the Saint's labours, where, even to-day, he remains a loved and familiar figure—over 100,000 pilgrims, we are told, escorted his relics in 1911 to their final resting-place above Annecy. Just as an altar-piece painted for a particular position in a church loses by being rehung in a picture-gallery, so a saint detached from the native soil where he grew in grace loses in fragrance and *attrait*—a truth which writers of hagiography are apt to overlook. And so we are grateful to M. Bordeaux for helping us to reconstruct the real every-day life of the Bishop, riding and walking indefatigably about his diocese, surrounded by his relations, his friends and his penitents. It was probably because his ecclesiastical life separated him singularly little from a large and affectionate family circle that his advice on all conjugal and domestic matters was at once so practical and considerate. His miracle was the miracle of his daily life—" il se tient dans le train commun," Mme. de Chantal wrote of him—and it is this daily life in the familiar setting of the Savoyard valleys that Henry Bordeaux describes so happily without exaggeration or over-emphasis. The book in truth has been a labour of love, lasting at intervals over many years, and something of the suavity of the Saint's own writing has penetrated these attractive pages.

Of recent years Henry Bordeaux has come to replace

in some measure Maurice Barrès as a defender in the press of Catholic interests, though, it must be admitted, with far less brilliancy. As Barrès wrote his "Grande Pitié des Eglises de France," so M. Bordeaux has produced his "Glorieuse Misère des Prêtres," with a preface by Cardinal Luçon, a series of addresses and articles describing the many trials and hardships of ecclesiastical life to-day. The two authors were intimate friends, and as early as 1903 Henry Bordeaux wrote some admirable pages making plain how Barrès's intense individualism, his passionate *culte du moi*, led him without any violent change to the identification of himself with the traditions of his race. "For him," he writes—and one feels that he writes for himself also—"we are only truly ourselves when we have steeped ourselves in the traditions of our race, and our own life can only be beautiful and complete if it contains such traditions." Barrès, however, he has to admit, never did attain to any true serenity of soul. His literary work was "one long cry of longing and unrest." Twenty years later Henry Bordeaux took up his pen again to record his last impressions of the dead writer, naturally more eulogistic in tone, the testimony of a generous friend rather than of a critic.

Judged as a whole Henry Bordeaux appears to us at once a realist and an optimist. His constant effort is to see and to paint life as it is, but temperamentally he can only see it in the light of his clear, kindly intelligence which seemingly has never been troubled by any of the unfathomable problems that life offers to so many. He has remained securely within the sound Catholic tradition. His passion for order saves him from rash enthusiasms and his buoyant optimism from any sense of failure or discouragement. No one would place him in the front rank of the great French novelists, but his romances possess the essentially French qualities of clarity and balance, and he has rendered one corner of French soil more familiar and sympathetic to a whole host of readers.

V. M. Crawford.

AGRICULTURAL ORGANISATION IN BELGIUM

BY J. P. McCARTHY, S.J., M.A.

THE study of the methods and the organisation of farmers in other countries will not solve the problems of the Irish farmer. Our difficulties are our own, and we must meet them in our own way. None the less there is much that can be learnt from the experience of other countries, and indeed we have already received many useful lessons, particularly from Denmark. Belgium, too, will repay study; for though that country, with its teeming population and its varied and intense industrial development, may present a marked contrast to Ireland, yet, like Ireland, it has had its agricultural problem and, unlike Ireland, has solved it. It is the purpose of this article to describe the *Boerenbond Belge* (League of Peasants), which has made of the struggling farmers of Flanders and Brabant a compact and flourishing community.

The Boerenbond is not a mere co-operative society; it is that, but it is something more. It is a Catholic Society: therefore faithfulness to religious duties is a necessary condition of membership; its publications breathe a Catholic spirit; Christian charity rather than self-interest is the motive underlying its co-operative works. It is a Society of agricultural workers: its organisation and its activities are suited to this class alone. On the other hand none of the interests of this class is considered to be outside the scope of the Society. Article II. of the Statutes is as follows:

> The general purpose of the Boerenbond Belge is to work for the religious, social and intellectual welfare of its members, and to watch over their material interests; in a word, it seeks to make of our agricultural population a class powerful, instructed and christian.

No doubt it is to this broad basis, on which the

Boerenbond has been built up, to this wide outlook, which includes every aspect of its members' life, that we must attribute the marvellous success of the Society. It owes its origin to the Abbé Mellaerts, who as parish priest of Goor had indulged a taste for Botany by carrying out in his garden experiments on the nutrition of plants. He tried to persuade his flock to improve their methods of cultivation—at first without success, more easily later when he had established his reputation as an agricultural expert. In 1886 he formed at Goor a co-operative guild which had all the characteristics that were later to distinguish the guilds of the Boerenbond.

Soon after he had begun his work, ill-health compelled the Abbé Mellaerts to relinquish his parish, and he retired to Louvain. Here he came in contact with others who were seeking means to raise agriculture from the deplorable condition into which it had fallen and to help the Belgium farmer to overcome the apparently insurmountable difficulties with which he was faced. The Abbé Mellaerts told his new friends of the co-operative movement in Germany and of the work he had himself done at Goor. The result was that in June, 1890, a meeting of farmers was called at Louvain, and the Boerenbond was founded with M. Helleputte, a professor in the University of Louvain, as President and the Abbé Mellaerts as General Secretary.

In the following year there were 49 local guilds affiliated to the Society with a total membership of 2,280. In 1900 there were 450 guilds with a membership of 26,000, and to-day the Society has over 100,000 members. With the growth in membership there has been a growth in the number and variety of its activities, but so wisely was the organisation of the Boerenbond planned that its essential character remains unchanged. Developments have taken place and continue to take place, but development and growth

are as natural in the Boerenbond as in a living organism. The Abbé Mellaerts held the office of General Secretary until 1902, when he was succeeded by Canon Luytgaerens, who has held that position since and who, with unremitting energy, has guided the Society along the path traced out for it by its founder.

The origin of the Boerenbond may be traced to the first *Boergilde* at Goor, and its growth is marked by the multiplication of other local guilds modelled on that of Goor. Each of these draws its members from a single parish or at most from a small group of parishes. Each guild has its own individual life, its own governing council, its own subsections formed, according to local needs, for the benefit of its members. Admission to a guild involves admission to the Boerenbond, and gives the right to use all the services provided by both local and central organisation. The council, which is elected by the members of the guild, has complete control over local affairs and maintains relations with the federal council. Each guild has a chaplain—usually the parish priest or one of his curates—who is *ex officio* a member of the council. The statutes give to him the position of mentor to the guild, but he may also hold an official position as secretary or president. In fact, the chaplain is commonly the moving spirit in the whole enterprise ; the success of a guild is usually proportional to his energy.

There is a general assembly of the guild once a month. The members meet first at the Church for Mass and the chaplain's address ; then they go to the local headquarters, where they hear lectures or have discussions on topics of interest. A programme for these meetings is always drawn up by the central committee at Louvain and sent to each council. This does much to ensure the success and practical utility of the meeting, and it also has the effect of maintaining, in the different guilds, unity of aim and method.

Under the general control of its council each guild forms several sub-sections, each of these again having its own administrative committee, its specific object, its own accounts. The number and nature of the sections vary from guild to guild. There is generally a section for buying seeds, implements, fertilizers, etc., a section for the sale of produce, a bank which receives deposits and gives credits, an insurance agency. There may also be sections to provide and manage a library, to organize evening classes, to conduct a dairy—in short, for any and every purpose that can be attained by co-operative effort. *Chacun pour tous, tous pour chacun* is the motto of each guild as it is of the Boerenbond itself.

Turning now to the central organisation of the Boerenbond at Louvain, we find that it follows closely the lines of that of the local Boergilde. Subject to the General Council, on which the guilds have direct representation, is a permanent governing committee. Subject to this again are sectional committees, each charged with the task of co-ordinating and directing one particular activity of the Society or of its local units.

In this complex organisation the most important figure is that of the General Secretary, and undoubtedly the success of the Boerenbond must be in large measure attributed to the genius of the two men who have successively held this position—Abbé Mellaerts and Canon Luytgaerens. The Secretary is immediately responsible for the efficiency of the Boerenbond and the co-ordination of the activities of its branches; he is also, *ex officio*, Chaplain-General, and in that capacity has the duty of preserving the religious and moral spirit of the Society. His influence is exerted largely through the departments of the central office, but he can act more directly through the publications of the Society.

Of these, the most widely circulated is a weekly periodical, *De Boer* or *Le Paysan*, which is printed in two languages and is read by all members. This is the

main organ of the Boerenbond. Besides official notices it publishes also articles of general interest on religious, social and agricultural topics. *Notre Guide* is issued monthly, and is intended primarily for Guild Councils. Its articles are addressed to them and deal with questions of organisation and administration. In addition the Society publishes: *La Fermière*, a monthly magazine for farmers' wives and daughters; *Onze Ploeg* (Our Plough), a monthly review, containing articles of a more technical nature and addressed to the better educated members of the Society; and numerous pamphlets and books.

The central organisation has a staff of 340 persons, either attached to the secretariate or employed in one or other of the sub-sections. A brief account of some of these sections will perhaps give the best idea of the comprehensiveness of the Boerenbond's activity.

I. *Sections for Buying and Selling.*—This department undertakes to execute the orders of the local guilds though these are free to act through it or not as they please. Its purchases in 1925 are given as :—

Fertilisers	49,354,069	francs.
Cattle foods	80,332,211	,,
Plants, seeds, etc.	11,466,037	,,
Machinery, Implements ..	491,987	,,
Miscellaneous	2,518,186	,,

Amongst sales of produce are mentioned :—

Eggs	1,591,603	francs.
Butter	4,604,134	,,

It should be noted that, though the sales both in Belgium and abroad are considerable, they have not the importance that co-operative selling would have in Ireland. In Belgium, with its dense population, a farmer has little difficulty in disposing of his produce locally.

II. *The Central Bank.*—This is formed by the

federation of the local banks, which are themselves modelled on the familiar Raiffeisen system. The central bank receives and invests the funds of these, makes advances to them, and exercises general financial control over them. It had, at the beginning of 1926, 940 affiliated local banks, its deposits exceeded 655 million francs, and its advances to members amounted to nearly 42 million francs.

III. *Insurance.*—This section arranges all types of insurance for members with two mutual insurance companies formed by the Boerenbond together with other co-operative Societies. Expert inspectors are sent to advise members and to encourage full insurance against fire and accident, of life, and of stock—even goats are commonly insured. Through an agency for a French company which it holds, the Boerenbond also ensures its members against damage by hail, a serious risk for the Belgium farmer.

IV. *Federation of Market Gardeners.*—This branch organises expeditions to model farms in other countries, collects information regarding the development of agriculture abroad and encourages progressive methods at home. The Society has experimental farms on which it carries out research on seeds, diseases of plants, insect pests, etc. Agricultural shows are held periodically, and members meet frequently in congresses to hear lectures and to exchange views on the problems of cultivation.

V. *The Service of Inspection.*—This Department is in many ways the most important in the whole organisation. It has numerous sub-divisions. Amongst its activities are :—

(*a*) *The Inspection of Creameries.*—It does not organise or erect creameries, but exercises a certain control over those founded by the local guilds. It gives technical advice to the management of the creamery and to the individual farmers who support it, makes analyses of milk and of cattle foods—in

short, does everything required to ensure the afficiency of the undertaking. In January, 1926, there were 163 creameries affiliated to the society.

(*b*) *Service for Buildings.*—This branch sends competent inspectors to advise on the construction of farm buildings, houses, etc., and to prepare suitable plans. The staff includes an architect and an engineer.

(*c*) *Service for the Improvement of Stock.*—Which is under the general management of the Professor of Zoology at Louvain University.

(*d*) *Service for the Selection of Seeds.*—Also under the care of a university professor.

(*e*) *Electrical Service.*—An electrical engineer gives advice on electrical installations and instructs members in their use. The Society has done much to secure the distribution of electrical power in the districts where its members reside.

(*f*) *Inspection of Beetroot-growing Districts.*—Necessary technical advice is given, and arrangements are made for the sale of the crop. The Society has not itself erected a sugar factory, but it secures advantageous terms for its members with existing factories.

VI. *The Information and Publicity Bureau.*—This bureau is at the service of all members and also of others interested in agriculture; in general the Boerenbond works for its members only, but in this section it is obviously serving their interests in making known their needs and their achievements. There is a large and well-stocked library; the staff undertakes to supply information on any subject connected with the farm; agricultural interests are defended in the press and representations are made to the government concerning the incidence of taxes and the modification of laws which affect the farmer. For members, consultations of all kinds can be arranged: lawyers, chemists and engineers

are employed by the Society to give confidential advice. The legal service is also of great value in that it enables members to submit to arbitration disputes amongst themselves and thus to avoid expensive litigation.

Thus the Boerenbond would seem to have provided for all the needs of the farmer. In every difficulty, he has at hand an expert who will give him advice and assist him to carry it out. Further, these services are all given gratuitously, being covered by his annual subscription of six francs—at the present rate of exchange about eight pence. Clearly, there must be some other source of income to support the central staff; this income is derived largely from the sale of publications, and to a certain extent from profits on sales of produce, etc. One may mention here that this central staff includes seven lawyers, two civil engineers, one electrical engineer, three chemists, a veterinary surgeon, a doctor, an architect, fourteen graduates in commerce, nineteen graduates in agriculture, and (one must not omit to add) seven priests. The Society has built and works three large mills; it has a special section employed in reclaiming waste land; it carries on experiments in the breeding of cattle. In a word, its economic activities are legion. In the sphere of social works, it is no less active. It has always striven to raise the intellectual status of its members. Its staff of inspectors, during their visits to the local guilds, give lectures not only on technical subjects but on other topics of interest and use to the farmer. During the year 1925, for example, the number of such lectures given by the staff was 4,397. Of these about three-fourths were technical, the rest being on general and social subjects. As one would expect in a Catholic society, emphasis is laid on the duties of an employer to his men.

Even more important than this work is the organisation of agricultural technical schools which the Boerenbond undertakes either by itself or with the

collaboration of other societies or of the State. In the year 1925-6 there were 260 such schools. Their pupils are for the most part the older boys who have just left school, but they include many adult members of the guilds. The curriculum is arranged, books are provided, and lecturers secured by the Boerenbond. The difficulty of getting competent instructors was at first a serious one, but it is being gradually overcome by the provision of more advanced schools of agriculture; twenty schools of this type have been founded by the Boerenbond in conjunction with the Minister of Agriculture. For girls there are fifty-one schools. "Days of Study" and "Vacation Schools," lasting four or five days, are also organised periodically for the benefit of members; at these, lectures and practical instruction are given in social and technical subjects. Education is thus made to play a large part in the programme of the Boerenbond.

The families of its members are not forgotten by the Boerenbond, and amongst its most important social works is the organisation of "*La Ligue des Fermières*" for the wives and daughters of its members and, more recently, of a similar league for boys. The latter organisation, which is still in its infancy, is designed to secure the moral and social welfare of the sons of members. Its activities are for the most part educative, but a wide view is taken of education; singing and declamation, for example, as well as vocational training find a place in the curriculum. *La Ligue des Fermières* was founded in 1911, and has grown rapidly in strength and importance, exerting, as it does, a beneficent social influence throughout the Boerenbond. There is a membership of 70,000 distributed amongst 640 local circles. These circles meet monthly, and at less frequent intervals there are regional and federal conferences. At these meetings the members hear lectures and discussions on the management of the

dairy or poultry farm, on hygiene, on parochial needs, etc. They receive instruction on the life of the conscript, so that they may prepare their sons for the period of military service and assist them during it; they organise entertainments, form a library, and interest themselves in various parochial works. *La Ligue des Fermières* is, indeed, the Boerenbond's most powerful means of promoting social progress amongst its members.

This account does not by any means exhaust the list of the sections and sub-sections, the branches and departments through which the all-embracing activity of the Boerenbond functions. Every year seems to bring a new development, and every new development is successful. The outline which has been given here will give some idea of the character of the organisation and of its remarkable achievement. What then is the lesson that we must learn from the Boerenbond? What is the secret of its success, the source of its strength? I leave it to others more experienced to point a moral for Ireland, if there be one; but I may here set down a few of the factors that would seem to have determined the success of the Boerenbond.

First, the Government has always taken a benevolent and sympathetic interest in the work of the Society. It is always ready to receive representations on behalf of the agricultural population, and to take measures to assist them. The State has often made use of the Boerenbond, preferring to act through it rather than independently of it. This has no doubt been of great benefit to the Society, but at the same time one must remember that the State supports the Boerenbond only because that body has proved its efficiency; it is successful on account of its own wise constitution and character, not on account of external influences.

Secondly, then, we may find something of the reason for success in the organisation itself, so perfectly adapted to the work it has to perform, and so suited to the

members it has to help. There is, on the one hand, the quite individual life of the several guilds, each governed by the local members and developed in accordance with local needs. The Central organisation attempts to do all that is possible to guide and assist its affiliated guilds; it procures for them expert advice; it guarantees their local banks and arranges for insurance; but in local affairs it interferes only to help, it does not tyrannise. On the other hand the compact federation of the guilds, with an efficient central administration enables them to derive the fullest benefits from co-operation, not merely in banking and insurance, in buying and selling, but also in procuring that service of expert advisers which has been described. There is complete unity; yet this is attained without any sacrifice of individual or local interests. This admirable organisation has existed since the beginning of the Boerenbond, and we can trace its benefits in the growth of the Society. At its birth, it sprang into a life of full and vigorous activity and of usefulness to its members. In the thirty-six years that have since elapsed, its membership has been growing continuously, but also the number and magnitude of its benefits to each member have been growing. Increase of numbers and development of new activities have not disturbed the balance of the organisation: in the great federation the local Guild retains its independence, and in the Guild the individual member retains his personal freedom.

Finally, the success of the Boerenbond cannot be due to the organisation alone. Organisation is but a means to an end, and, as we have seen, "the end of the Boerenbond Belge is to work for the religious, social and intellectual welfare of its members, and to watch over their material interests." Taking this broad view of its purpose, the Boerenbond has bound its members to itself and to one another by the strongest of ties, and it has allowed no limit to be placed to the sphere of its activity on

their behalf. It would have justified its existence, if it had merely promoted the material interests of its members. It has done that, but it has done far more.

Formed amongst a Catholic people, the Boerenbond is a frankly Catholic Society. Following the advice of Leo XIII (*Rerum Novarum*)—"The foundations of the organisation are laid in religion"—Abbé Mellaerts tried to follow the model of the mediaeval guilds and refused to divorce religion from the common life of the people. The Guilds are Catholic Guilds, they take a corporate part in religious services, their work is pervaded by a Christian spirit.

To its influence in the sphere of religion, the Boerenbond adds its work for the social and intellectual welfare of its members. The co-operative effort which it has organised makes it possible not only to promote material interests, but also to relieve and elevate the lonely, monotonous life of the countryside. The farmer receives such technical instruction as he needs; his wife is helped in her routine duties, and her life is illuminated by new interests; the children are trained and educated to fill their place in the work of the farm. All the workers on the land are formed into a true community, with a healthy social life which can be set off against the attractions of modern town life. The agricultural population needs something more than assistance in the business of trade; it has other difficulties to contend with besides the extortions of the middleman, other objects to attain in addition to material prosperity. Its interests are all the interests that enter into a normal human life, and the humane influence of the Boerenbond makes itself felt in all of them. Therefore it has become an integral part of the life of agricultural Belgium.

J. P. McCarthy.

REVIEWS

Art

THE APPROACH TO PAINTING. By Thomas Bodkin. London: Bell. 1927. Pp. xxiv + 192. 7s. 6d.

ALTHOUGH the beauty of good pictures makes an obvious appeal, the fuller understanding and appreciation of them are impossible without a good deal of preliminary instruction. Through lack of such equipment many who visit museums and exhibitions of paintings miss the essential enjoyment to be derived from them.

Mr. Bodkin's book aims at showing how to apprehend the full message of paintings. Such a book is much needed. Books on art are comparatively rare in English. Most of the literature on this subject has been written by foreign, especially German, scholars. Even now there is no up-to-date work in English on general history of painting that is both comprehensive and accessible.

The first part of the book expounds in five chapters the different aspects of the appreciation of paintings. The second part, in twenty chapters, applies the principles thus developed to the interpretation, in detail, of a number of famous pictures. These works are selected from different periods and schools, and provide samples of the most important phases in the history of painting. About forty excellent photographs of pictures adorn the book.

The chapters on the various ways of approach to pictures (called the philosophic, the analytical, the technical, the casual approach, and the " approach by siege ") discuss comprehensively a large variety of topics, including problems of philosophical aesthetics, questions concerning composition, drawing, representation, harmony, emotional values in painting, materials and technical methods, the historical and cultural background of schools of art. These topics are discussed with that condensation, clearness and finish which come from the author's long familiarity with his subject. The reader who studies these chapters will find himself carried by attractive stages a good distance into the deeper understanding of pictorial art.

Rather than attempt to outline these discussions, I will cite as a specimen a passage which is one of several equally happy :—

> The purpose which lifts a painting into a picture is recognised by the presence of rhythm. This rhythm is often called plan, pattern, design or composition. But all these words are comprised in rhythm, which is the balance of the attractions

which cause the eye to range all over the picture and yet in willing contentment within its bounds. Rhythm implies the poise and echoing of all the lines, masses, spaces, lights and colours to produce the essential unity which distinguishes the picture from bare statement or mere illustration. Rhythm also gives vitality to a picture, by preventing the eye from resting at undue length on any one of its constituents; it conveys a suggestion of infinity by its mysterious refinements, which evade precise definition or enumeration; it gives the essential repose which comes from complete harmony within the parts of a whole. (p. 13).

The pictures explained in the second part include works by Giotto, Masaccio, Jan van Eyck, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, Breughel, El Greco, Poussin, Velasquez, Rembrandt, Watteau, Chardin, Gainsborough, Corot, Manet. It is a very happy idea to supplement the theoretical discussions by thus guiding the reader through a gallery of great masterpieces and teaching him what is the full message of each.

Although didactic, the book is anything but dry and academic. The author's artistic sense appears not only in his analysis of works of art but also in the charm of his literary style. His descriptions of pictures, especially, are models of word-painting.

J. SHINE.

Biography

JOHN GILMARY SHEA: Father of American Catholic History, 1824-1892. By Professor Peter Guilday, Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society. 1926. Pp. 171.

IF that loyal and noble soul, the historian of the Catholic Church in America whose name furnishes the title of this volume, has had to wait well beyond thirty years for an adequate tribute in printed form, he has at last been worthily praised. The praise is given, too, in the form that he would have himself quite appreciated. No man was more modest about his work; and yet John Gilmary Shea was untiring for forty years (1852-1892) in research and writing which were immense in both efforts and results. The pioneer of the documentary method of historical exposition concerning Catholic America is here treated of by one who has been trained on much the same lines in the school of Cauchie at Louvain; and every chapter of the record of Shea's tireless and self-effacing persistency is a lesson in that excellent process.

Yet it is also a very human biography. The glimpses which we are afforded of the letters of George Bailey O'Callaghan to Shea would alone suffice to quicken the quiet story of the

successive researches, articles, and volumes of those forty years, filled with work to the very last days. But there is much more, as is to be seen in the correspondence of Archbishop Hughes, Cardinal Gibbons, and other notable figures cited in these pages. They all serve to bring out the choice personal qualities of the historian. Of him, both of the man and of his work, Catholic America can well be proud.

Yet that pride has to be tempered. No one who reads the second portion of Dr. Guilday's narrative (1863-1892, pages 69 to 154) will fail to see the lesson repeatedly, yet with delicacy of touch, there given. Such letters as those on pages 75-76, 116-117, 137-138, deserve to have their purport well weighed in connection with all projects and developments of Catholic education and research, even in so amply-endowed a people as America can show. The very fact that such a scholar and such a devoted worker as John Gilmary Shea had time and again to sell his library, gathered and regathered with all a scholar's zeal, need alone be mentioned in this notice of his biography.

Dr. Guilday furnishes a bibliography of John Gilmary Shea that is confessedly incomplete: it amplifies that of 1912, which had 247 titles, many of them being important volumes. "The prodigious activity of Dr. Shea," writes his biographer, "is unique in American historiography." That is true, yet hardly adequate; for the whole range of the work involved great pioneer effort, and reached a high level of quality, most of all in the greater works. It extended over forty years: academic recognition came only in the days of his old age. And in the last months of that model life, Dr. Shea wrote of his great but unfinished *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (4 volumes; 1886-1892): "I have been so straitened that I have had to raise money on my books and on all that I had, in order to get enough to bring out my fourth volume" (p. 138: 24 December, 1891). Perhaps it is the better thus; for we have a record of a blameless and beautiful life, devoted to all that is of enduring worth, yet marked by repeated trials and disappointments quietly borne.

T. C.

THE LIFE OF ST. GALL. By Maud Joynt. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1927. 7*s.* 6*d.*

In the days when the "Viking Terror" was at its height—the first half of the ninth century—a little band of Columban monks from Hy, driven from their ravaged isle and ruined monastery by the Northmen raiders, and forced, like so many hundreds of

their fellows in Ireland, to seek refuge in religious houses on the Continent, found welcome and shelter in the famous island monastery of Reichenau—Augia Dives—in Lake Constance.

How can we trace their passage? By a manuscript and a poem. The manuscript—which they had carried with them as their greatest treasure—is the celebrated *Codex Augiensis* of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, discovered in Reichenau in 1647, by Fr. Stephen White, S.J., and now preserved in the municipal library of Schaffhausen. The poem—based on the stories they had to tell of Northmen atrocities their own eyes had witnessed—is Walafrid Strabo's Latin hexameters on the "Passion" of St. Blathmac, that "King of Ireland's son" who (unlike his legendary namesake, condemned "to take the longest lane," "to follow on for ever"—after shadows) went straight to the land of his heart's desire by the swift road of martyrdom—inflicted on him by the hands of the savage Northmen on the altar steps in Hy, about the year 825.

Both the manuscript and the poem had effects which concern us here. For the manuscript, showing by a superb example how a saint's life ought to be written, inspired Abbot Gozbert of St. Gall's (816-836) to procure the composition of a worthy *Life* of his own great patron, while the poem pointed out the young "squint-eyed" scholar of Reichenau—who had listened so effectively to the tales related by the Irish refugees round the winter's fire in the calefactory of his monastery, and had given them a lasting life in his verses—as the proper person to write it.

Abbot Gozbert's commission was accepted by Brother Walafrid, and the resultant *Life of St. Gall* now lies before us in an admirable English translation by Miss Maud Joynt—one of the most distinguished Irish scholars—forming a volume of Series V of *Translations of Christian Literature* (*Lives of the Celtic Saints*), edited for the S.P.C.K. by another scholarly Irishwoman, Miss Eleanor Hull. These two countrywomen of ours have thus helped to take away the reproach of leaving to alien pens "the praising" of St. Gall—and St. Gall's.

For Miss Joynt, as all those who know her, and especially those who (like the present reviewer) had the privilege of studying under her, will expect, has not contented herself with giving us merely an English version of Walafrid. In an Introduction, covering some fifty-seven pages of the highest value and excellency, she deals with the whole story of St. Gall, his biographers, and the great monastery which owes its foundation to him. With a skill and charm not unlike that which she herself finds in Ekkehard,

she marshals before our delighted eyes the whole vivid and colourful procession of scenes and personages which make up the *Casus Monasterii Sancti Galli*. Of her indeed might almost have been written what she has set down in praise of Ekkehard : " Though dealing with events prior to his own time, he had so fully imbibed the monastery traditions that he writes with the vividness of an eye-witness ; he has an artistic sense of the value of detail ; he knows how to seize and throw into relief the salient traits of character in his personages, and presents them to us with a dramatic realism as they spoke and acted, and in his work we have a picture of the internal life of a monastery in the ninth and tenth centuries such as has perhaps no equal in monastic literature."

HELENA CONCANNON.

AUGUSTIN COCHIN (1823-1872). *Les Lettres et la Vie.* Avec une introduction et des notes. Deux tomes. Par Henry Cochin. Paris : Bloud and Gay. 1926.

THESE letters furnish the materials for a living picture of the history of France between the Revolution of 1848 and the war of 1870, and are a most important addition to the ever-increasing documents of that eventful period. It was an age of great poets and orators who laboured for union between Church and Liberty. Cochin, then a young man, gave himself up with his whole heart to the movement led by Lacordaire and Montalembert. Another Catholic movement, the social and charitable, afterwards attracted him still more. He became the companion of Melun in all his social undertakings as he was of Ozanam in the work of St. Vincent de Paul. He was caught up with a passionate desire for public good, charity, and social progress. He joined together the forces of the Catholics of the liberal and social groups.

The Revolution gave him his greatest chance for his mission of peace and pardon with its open appeal to religion. His charitable work then began in earnest. It is here that his real originality is seen. He travelled in Germany and England to obtain first-hand information on the conditions of factory workers and town tenants so as to apply his gathered statistics to the betterment of his own countrymen. To him chiefly belongs the merit of the most effectual struggle against the miseries and sufferings of the people of Paris. Workmen's clubs, loan societies, associations for the orphans of the Commune and of the War, organizations for the relief of the poor, etc.—these were his creations at a time when Catholic forces were torn between political parties. Cabrol said of him : " His was a soul formed

entirely of charity. He loved the Church, his country, truth, as he loved his poor. He suffered for their wants. He gave them his fortune, his time, his health. He strove as a man of the world to raise them up, and he entered politics only in order to do more for them."

The name of Cochin is indelibly stamped on the Falloux Law of 1851 which gave liberty of teaching. As one of the Commission he seized this splendid opportunity for reviving Christianity in France. His efforts bore fruit until the law of 1904 put an end to all religious teaching. His name too is intimately associated with that circle of remarkable men of very varying views—Lacordaire, Lamartine, Falloux, Dupanloup, Montalembert, etc. But his services as intermediary and peace-maker, as counsellor and director of their united wisdom are not so generally known. His letters are full of encouragement and consolation to those great men grown old and broken in the struggle for the liberty of the Church. The young and ardent Catholic and liberal had endeared himself to all and received their warmest admiration and approbation in his reconciliation of religion and liberalism.

M. Henry Cochin has considerably enhanced the value of the letters of his illustrious father by his introduction, commentary, and notes. M. RONAN.

Classics

SAPPHO: The Poems and Fragments. Greek Text with an English Translation by C. R. Haines, and Introduction, Notes, Glossary, etc. (Broadway Translations Series). London: Routledge. 1926. 12*s* 6*d*. net.

ONE'S first feeling on seeing this very finely produced book, with its 255 odd pages and wealth of illustrations, is one of wonder that the poems of Sappho should occupy so much space. The editor tells us that it is intended to take the place of Wharton's edition, now of course out of date, and the publishers that it is to provide "not only the student and classical scholar but the general public with a handy comprehensive edition of Sappho, containing all that is so far known about her unique personality and her incomparable poems." For these reasons it includes not merely an excellent general introduction, in which we are given a full account of the sources for our knowledge of Sappho's poetry, of her life and the vexed question of her character, of her environment, vocation, and poetical material, but also three pages on her physical appearance and twenty-nine on ancient representations of her person on vases, coins, gems and in sculpture.

At the end of the book we have a collection of epigrams on Sappho, a translation of the Epistle to Phaon attributed to Ovid

which the editor thinks spurious, and an appendix of twenty-six pages on the rhythms and metres of Sappho, based on the work of Westphal, Schmidt, and Christ; an appendix which is altogether useless for the modern student, as that work has been largely superseded in recent years (for over thirty, in fact) by the researches of such scholars as Wilamowitz and Schroeder, who have made away with the puzzling fictions of logaoedics, bases, chorees, and cyclic dactyls. Mr. Haines' pages are full of these modern phantasms, consigned long ago by Wilamowitz in an incisive phrase to regions "ubi mures ferrum rodunt." The publishers of this work, in their anxiety to do justice to Sappho, have been over-generous to her editor and allowed him to overload the book with nearly a moiety of matter for which the scholar and student can have no use and which will only mislead the general public.

The text of the fragments themselves occupies only about fifty pages of the whole work, and is interlarded with a verse translation and with brief notes. It would have been better had text, translation, and notes been more clearly separated. The editor is unfortunate in that Mr. Lobel's Oxford edition of the fragments, which (as he says) for the first time lays down the canons of textual criticism for Sappho, only appeared when his own work was in second proof. In its absence he has no hard and fast rules of his own, and gives us a selective text derived clearly from wide and loving study of editions and periodicals. Two facts in connection with his text may be regretted: he has not made use of Diehl's work in the recently-published *Anthologia Lyrica*, but confines himself to that scholar's earlier *Supplementum Lyricum*; and he attaches somewhat too much importance to Mr. Edmonds' unfortunate Loeb Library edition, for which no good work but his has been spoken, and that we think not unjustly.

The book as a whole, while displaying a great love for his subject on the editor's part and much wide reading and good sense—witness his discussion of Sappho's character, in which he vindicates her, following Wilamowitz, against late accusations—is hardly worthy of its fine format and the enthusiasm of its publisher. Its chief value lies in its introduction, where it assembles much information only accessible hitherto in German works and scattered periodicals. M. T.

Education

EMILY DAVIES AND GIRTON COLLEGE. By Lady Stephen. London: Constable. 1927. Pp. 387. 21*s.* net.

More than half of this illuminating volume is given up to a survey of the movements for the secondary and professional education

of women in England, reaching down to 1868-1869, when a first venture was made in founding at Hitchin the volunteer institution, scanty in funds and not too united in its aims, that later (1874) was moved into the Cambridge area and called Girton. The earlier section gives, by an excellently woven series of citations, many conflicting views on the advancement of intellectual education for women, from those of Queen Victoria—not at all friendly—to those of George Eliot. They form an odd assortment of shreds and patches, due, no doubt, to the fact that the education of women in England, for the century and a half before the advent of Miss Beale and Miss Buss, was at a level lower, it would seem, than it had ever been anywhere in the European area since the end of the Roman Republic.

The preparation of students for Hitchin and for Girton was very uneven and usually weak. It is to the credit of Miss Davies that, being in practical control there from 1868 to 1903, she would never listen to proposals of special examinations, special curricula, or any special treatment for women students. There were untold difficulties in her way: even the Cambridge tutors who were favourable, as Seeley, Sidgwick, Clark, Stuart, were often "undependable" as volunteer lecturers. For the whole period down to 1881 it was impossible to get admitted to any University Examination. The papers set for men could, by special and repeated requests—not always acceded to—be handed over, after due hours, to women candidates, who would then write their answers in a room in the University Arms Hotel in the city. It was by the merely unofficial service of individual examiners that an opinion could be got on the answering; and this was done by the mere "connivance" of the University (page 273) and by examiners acting (page 276) merely in a private capacity. The whole story of Miss Davies as a persistent suitor for small "clandestine" concessions of this kind, all those years, is curious reading in more than one respect. The recent Royal Commission declared that the University of Cambridge "has played a great part in raising and keeping up the tone of women's education" in England. It is hard to see any justification for this testimonial. Even in 1921, they could get no more than the "titles of degrees," not real legal degrees there. Only in 1923 did they get a right to attend lectures for degrees and to use laboratories. Until then any lecturer could exclude women, and some did so. In 1923, too, did women first gain a right to use the University Library—"a most welcome and valuable concession," writes Lady Stephen. Until 1924 women

had no share in organising curricula, lecturing for the University, examining for degrees; and in 1924 this was not granted by the University, but was imposed on that body by Statutes made by special Crown Commission. There were in 1925 over 4,350 men undergraduates, and there were some 560 resident women students in all; but the plan of limiting their numbers to 500—one-tenth of the whole—appears to be accepted even by women students and their authorities. A strange situation, indeed, in the eyes of any reader of Lady Stephen's volume, who is not in and of Cambridge. T. C.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN SWITZERLAND. To commemorate the Pestalozzi Centenary, 17 February, 1927. By A. J. Pressland. London: Harrap. 1927. Pp. 110. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

About one half of this compact and excellently-produced account of modern Swiss education is devoted to the educational systems of the present day. The laws of Switzerland as to apprenticeship and conditions of work for young people are well known to be highly efficient: both on these and on agricultural training Mr. Pressland's chapters, though too brief by far, will be found serviceable by Irish organisers and teachers. The whole book suffers somewhat from an excess of details given about particular cantons: the canton is practically the sole educational authority in Switzerland. It would have been quite feasible to present a survey of the points of policy on which these numerous sovereign counties—they are rarely as large as Irish counties—agree or do not agree: this is much needed in almost all accounts of Swiss education.

The post-war conditions of industrial production and markets have very definitely affected the whole of industrial training in Switzerland. Mr. Pressland's account of these changes of front (as in the case of Swiss farming, pp. 92-93) is very useful. The account which is given of the revival of educational apprenticeship (pp. 77-88) and of its relations to the Trades Unions and to the State, is an object lesson to those whose view of industry is limited to low-grade production in England and in America.

The chapters on the Pestalozzi period do not add anything to the current and very erroneous views as to the whole educational work of Pestalozzi. Modern Switzerland has derived little benefit from his proposals, which were really quite sterile and deserved their fate. On several issues affecting religion and moral education Mr. Pressland, while quite English in outlook, speaks frankly enough. The concluding chapter on Child Welfare is frankness

itself as to the one thing needful—children. There is in the non-Catholic areas of Switzerland "a demoralisation of marriage which shows itself in the artificial fall of the birth-rate. As a result, the number of children in the Zurich schools, 28,000 in 1914, promises to be but 16,000 in 1931." *Quid leges sine moribus?*

T. C.

Fiction

FLOODTIDE. By Matthias Bodkin, S.J. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1927. 5*s.* net.

"TEMPERAMENT you starts with; character you builds up—if you knows about it," says one of Fr. Martindale's philosophers somewhere; and the great difficulty for those who have to deal with the education of boys is that most boys do not know about it. A teacher or a prefect may do much for a boy, but he cannot build up his character for him—that the boy must do for himself. Up to their last year at school the majority of boys are, by nature and circumstances, little fatalists, quite willing to let "determin'd things to destiny hold unbewailed their way," and by no means anxious to assert or even to recognise themselves as captains of their souls. It is often, however, in this last year that the opportunity comes for the real educator to do his work.

It is hardly surprising, then, that when a Jesuit sits down to write a school story he should select this last year at school as his subject. So did Fr. F. McGrath, S.J., recently, viewing it as the Last Lap, in which a boy has a chance of making up ground lost for lack of consciousness of the importance of the race. So now Fr. M. Bodkin, S.J., writing about the same distinguished college, chooses also the development of a boy during his last year at school as his central theme. To him that last year is the time of the flowing tide, when a boy's character is influenced by some attractive forces outside himself, some moral sun and moon that will heap up the waters beneath them—if our modern scientists will pardon us for holding, for the sake of the illustration, to the good old-fashioned explanation of the tides. And these waters are, as it were, all the high ideals of generosity and goodness and nobility that have a place in every boy's heart, but of which he is hardly conscious until one day the time of slack water ends and the tide begins to flow with an ever-increasing force, sweeping away the natural self-centredness and selfishness, or perhaps more justly the thoughtlessness of the normal boy.

It is something of an achievement to have written so fascinating a school story as *Floodtide* undoubtedly is, and at the same

time to have made it very definitely something more than a school story. The book is full of incident, and touches on all sides of school-life, with more than a passing glance at some charming home scenes. We have glimpses of serious class-work with the ideal teacher in charge and with others not quite so ideal. Examinations, with their thrills of hope and fear; school politics, petty and mean; school friendships and rivalries—all play their part. Nor are games forgotten. Indeed some of the best written and most interesting passages are inspired by hurley, rugby and cricket; while a swimming-gala, a paper-chase and a school debate complete a very full survey of college life. Yet the central theme colours the whole book and is ever present to the writer's mind, although it is not even once put forward in so many words.

As boys will read school stories with a certain amount of eagerness, it is all to the good that such stories should be written in an English from which their readers may learn something. Fr. Bodkin writes simply, some might say in a style carelessly simple, as if one of his boy-characters was telling the story. But for all that his writing bears the mark of distinction that comes from an unpedantic knowledge and appreciation of the best things in English literature. He has a nice sense of the value of words and a fine taste in the selection and use of imagery which enable him to make scenes and incidents live with a minimum of formal description. Again and again a suggestive allusive phrase, some half-veiled quotation will illuminate and enrich a passage, sending the reader's mind off to draw a fuller interpretation from the original context. Colour, ease and a certain loose grace, combined with skill in dramatic narration, do not stand alone. Considerable care seems to have been bestowed on the selection of such minor things as chapter titles, which are made to do their full work of stimulating thought and of emphasising points that a boy might miss. The few well-chosen quotations that introduce the different divisions of the book will, we imagine, tease a boy's mind rather than help him; but they are probably intended for another type of reader, who will appreciate their function and significance.

E. J. C.

LA GESTE DE LA BRANCHE-ROUGE, OU L'ILIADE IRLANDAISE. By Roger Chauviré. Paris: Librairie de France. 1926. 12 francs.

This introduction to the stories of the Red Branch Knights Cycle has, like the Book of Leinster itself, been "compiled out of many

books." Its purpose is to reveal to the ordinarily cultured French reader an unsuspected world of action and romance, the oldest epic literature of Western Europe. The author's aim is not erudition or criticism, but, as he says, " to tell strange and beautiful stories." And it would be hard to find within a similar compass a more attractive book of its kind.

The episodes chosen, all connected with Cuchulain's youth and with the Tain, illustrate the most widely different aspects of the old Ulster stories. The big gaps in time, the proportions of myth and fact, the queer mixture of paganism with Christian elements, the personification of nature-forces, the symbolic or socio-historical import of these tales, the hypotheses formed to explain them, and the processes of editing to which they were subjected—all these things are indicated in the preface to show the rich and varied interest which they afford.

Perhaps the best comment on the narrative as here re-told is that the author obviously *enjoyed* writing it, and carries us with him. We enter turn by turn into the epic proportions of the actors—men and women—their physical prowess and warlike exploits, their wild and savage deeds, their barbaric magnificence, their magic arts, their unrestrained elemental passions ; or again, their high sense of honour and generosity, their delicate human sensibility, their skill, their humour. If sometimes we are almost painfully conscious of the instinctive physical aspect of humanity, we also get frequent glimpses of its abiding soul.

The language is very flexibly and skilfully adapted to the subject : in this respect we are reminded of that acknowledged masterpiece, Bédier's *Tristan et Iseult.* The resources of modern French are combined with a discriminating use of old words and constructions : just enough to give that savour of *naïveté* which is the reflex for us of the unconscious simplicity of our distant ancestors. Every tone is struck in turn : the joyous, boyish spirit of adventure of the little Cuchulain, the unheroic prudence of his charioteer, the sense of doom in the story of Deirdre, the pathetic significance of Cuchulain's interviews with the Morrigan, the rich enumerations, the spirit of battle scenes and single combats, the sense of beauty in the setting.

The re-spelling of names to suit French phonetics introduces an element of confusion where there was much before. And we have one small objection to raise : the reference to *Paddy* on p. 13 of the preface strikes a note that seems a little out of date.

M. R.

L'ILE DES SAINTS. By Paul Renaudin. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1926. 10 fr.

THE Island of Saints is Catholic England of the reign of Elizabeth and James I, of the Gunpowder Plot and the Plague. Annabel Tresby, the heroine, is another seeker after love and sacrifice. Her childhood spent in the company and memory of martyrs has left her with a thirst for heroism which prevents her from resting in the joy of life and love when it comes her way. So she and her fiancé, Alban, led by a strange predestination, both give their lives to save persecuted priests in the year of the Gunpowder Plot.

It is a very beautiful book, of which the form, a series of tableaux with dialogue linked up by summary narrative and descriptive passages, gives the author the ample scope of the novel, while it justifies the lyric beauty of many passages that would fit poetic drama. The setting is wonderful: the wild sadness of Dunmoor, the easy joyous life of Fern Hall, the forest inn of the last episode.

It might seem difficult to renew a subject so often treated. Yet the simple vigour of the scenes of martyrdom makes them vividly touching. And the deep human feeling of so many scenes is true and original. Amongst the most beautiful are those in which Annabel, returning after many years to Dunmoor, reproaches herself for forgetting the martyrs of her childhood; Margaret Hodgerow's last night in prison; Annabel's rendezvous with Father Murray where she finds the road-side Cross cut down and overgrown with weeds, and where bitter human regret for all she has left assails her; and her thoughts and prayer at night-fall in the inn garden.

If the collection *Ars et Vita* produces many books on this level of art and of life, it will be well worth while. M. R.

History

A HISTORY OF IRELAND AND HER PEOPLE TO THE CLOSE OF THE TUDOR PERIOD. By Eleanor Hull. London: Harrap. 1926. 18s. net.

THE crop of Histories of Ireland has been, during the last ten or twelve years, an abundant one. This is a welcome sign of an increased interest in our country's past, both abroad and amongst Irishmen themselves.

As the volume we are now considering consists of over 500 pages and yet stops at the close of the Tudor period, it has room

for a good deal of detail, which gives interest to the narrative, and for the pen portraits of individual men and women which form an outstanding feature of the latter part of the work.

In her early chapters Miss Hull has profited by the recent researches of the most eminent Celtic scholars and corrected many errors hitherto commonly found in general histories. Examples of this are the explanation of the succession customs (page 24) and of the division of the five provinces (page 17).

The general picture given of early Celtic Ireland is clear and attractive. If the lights have been occasionally heightened and the blackness of the shadows diminished, yet on the whole the two extremes have been avoided of representing the period as a Golden Age, or of considering it as a time of mere savagery and barbarism. The account of monastic life in the first centuries of Irish Christianity (page 54) is perhaps a little idealised, but certainly most fascinating, and makes the weary worker of the twentieth century envy the scholarly peace which these men enjoyed—except just sometimes, when one monastery had a " difference " with another.

In her chapter on the coming of the Normans Miss Hull assumes, and in an appendix she defends, the authenticity of Pope Adrian IV's so-called Bull " Laudabiliter." In this, of course, many, perhaps the majority of scholars will agree with her. It scarcely, however, seems fair for her to quote, in support of the document, the three alleged letters of Pope Alexander III, since they are generally admitted to be considerably more doubtful than " Laudabiliter " itself. The statement made that the prelates at the Synod of Cashel took a step in " Anglicising Church policy " and declared it to be " right and just that, as Ireland has received her lord and king from England, she should accept reformation from the same source " rests on poor and prejudiced authority.

To give interest to the account of the two and a half centuries of dreary strife which followed Henry II's invasion is indeed difficult, and much credit is due to the author for her chapters especially on the Bruce Invasion and the career of Art McMurrogh, although, when treating of the former incident, one cannot but think that the amount of support which Edward Bruce obtained in Ireland is rather understated, and the great political aim which was in his mind of a union of Ireland and Scotland under himself and his heirs—Robert Bruce his brother was then over 40 and had no son—is not made clear.

The Tudor period presents more attractions, and the narrative

of events is enlivened by interesting pen-portraits of men and women, whose doings, even when they did not themselves play a very prominent part in the great events of the time, enable us to understand the manner of life, the ideas and the spirit of the age. A whole chapter is devoted to Fineen MacCarthy Reagh and a good deal of space to Grace O'Malley and to the "Old" Countess of Desmond.

To say that a certain prejudice against the native Irish is shown in this latter part of the book would be to overstate the case, but it would have been more satisfying and perhaps more just if, when speaking of their institutions and of the actions of their leaders, less prominence had been given to the statements of those prejudiced against them. Thus, Fynes Morrison's assertions that the Irish country-people lived "under the lord's absolute power as slaves" and that the lord's exactions were practically unlimited are certainly not true, while his description of gavelkind, as involving a redistribution of lands every "one, two or three years," if it ever were correct concerning any period, had certainly long ceased to be so in the 16th century.

Then, Shane O'Neill's alleged ill-treatment of Calvach O'Donnell's wife and his drunken habits, dissolute life and brutality are recounted. But of these we hear only from prejudiced sources. The praise accorded to Shane's rule of Ulster, even by his enemies, is scarcely touched on. On the other hand, the brutal and dishonourable deeds and the petty meanness which stained Raleigh's Irish career (witness his treatment of the widowed Countess of Desmond and his treachery to the citizens of Youghal), the violence and brutality of Carew and the dishonesty of Richard Boyle (afterwards Earl of Cork) are lightly passed over. Sir John Norris, who carried out the horrible massacre of Rathlin Island, was (we are told) "a man admired and beloved even by his Irish enemies, who have ever shown a sincere appreciation of an honourable adversary."

In a general History of any length it is practically impossible to avoid occasional errors in matters of detail. We venture to point out a few which have struck us.

The most important is the statement (page 264) that Poyning's Law "rendered the Parliaments of Ireland completely dependent on those of England." Poyning's Law makes no mention whatever of the English Parliament. It enabled the English Privy Council to control Irish legislation.

Meiler Magrath, Reformed Archbishop of Cashel, did not die a violent death, but expired peacefully in his bed at the age of nearly 100 (page 313).

There is no reason to believe that (as stated on page 390) Marshal Bagenal fell, at the battle of Yellow Ford, by the hand of Hugh O'Neill. We are merely

told that he had raised the visor of his helmet to get some fresh air and a bullet pierced his brain.

Gerald Fitzgerald was not the only son of Garrett Og's second marriage. There was a younger boy Edward, ancestor of the present Duke of Leinster (page 281).

The "Tower" Earl of Desmond was not the last scion of his house. James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald and James and John Fitzthomas, his cousins, all left sons (page 451).

Owen Roe O'Neill did not leave Ireland on the occasion of "The Flight of the Earls," nor was he a child in 1607. Already the previous year he had attained to the rank of captain in the Spanish service.

Donal na Pipy was a different person from "Donal the base born son of old Clancar." He was a first cousin of Fineen Macarthy Reagh, the son of his uncle Cormac (page 442).

The illustrations in this book add greatly to its attractiveness. Some, as the portrait of the Countess of Desmond and that of Garrett Og, are not generally known and will be new to most readers. It might have been mentioned that the portrait given of Shane O'Neill is modern and imaginary. We have no contemporary portrait of Shane. M. T. H.

RICHARD II IN IRELAND (1394-5) *AND SUBMISSIONS OF THE IRISH CHIEFS.* By Edmund Curtis, M.A., Erasmus Smith Professor of History in the University of Dublin. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1927. 15s. net.

THE name of Professor Curtis already stands high among the historians of medieval Ireland. This work will enhance his reputation for steady, industrious and accurate scholarship: it also sets a headline which we would wish to see more widely copied. There are too many general histories of Ireland (most of them, incidentally, strange compounds of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*), and too few source-books. This is a source-book, and a very valuable one. It consists of thirty-eight notarial instruments and twenty-one personal letters, all hitherto unpublished, which give first-hand evidence of the submissions of the Irish chiefs to Richard II in 1395. The texts are edited with the greatest care—perhaps the amount of patient industry involved can only be appreciated by one who has had to contend with medieval notarial instruments; a synopsised but quite adequate translation of each is appended; and the whole is prefaced by a luminous introduction which treats of the causes, events and results of Richard's visit to Ireland. Reading this admirable work, one can only regret that it should have required for publication a grant from the Board of Trinity College, instead

of appearing among the volumes of the *Monumenta Hiberniae* for which Professor MacNeill pleaded two years ago in *Studies*.

On three occasions in the history of Anglo-Irish relations before the final destruction of the Gaelic polity, the native chiefs *en bloc* acknowledged the authority of the English Crown and swore allegiance to it. The present work deals with the second of these occasions. While it has not the same significance as the acceptance of Henry II's feudal lordship, still less the universal and unreserved acknowledgment of Henry VIII's Kingship in 1541, still this general submission to Richard II has its own importance. It is surprisingly thorough in extent and in character. Besides some "degenerate English," no less than eighty chiefs are concerned in it, including all the important rulers save O'Donnell and his vassals. In the great majority of cases the submission is made in person and allegiance is sworn in the most stringent form of feudal oath.

Space permits me to touch on but a few of the interesting points in these submissions. All the chiefs swear allegiance in Gaelic, and even a few of the "degenerate English" as well—the services of an interpreter are almost invariably required. The notaries who make the official record are always Englishmen. The brehon of the chief appears nowhere : in the only case involving a point of Irish law (p. 92) the rule in question is proved by the sworn testimony of two bishops. Indeed the episcopate plays a very large rôle throughout the official records : no less than twelve native prelates appear as witnesses or interpreters, and references in several instruments and letters show that the Irish Church welcomed this acknowledgment of the King's authority as a step towards the establishment of settled conditions. Lastly, some evidence that the Gaelic polity had already partially broken down is afforded by the separate and independent submissions of several sub-chieftains who, being "urraghts" of one of the Five Bloods, would in strict Brehon jurisprudence be deemed bound by the oath of their *cóigedhach*. Some of them even appear to have used their declaration of allegiance to Richard for the purpose of repudiating the authority of the over-chief : Magennis of Iveagh is a notable example.

Despite its apparent success, Richard's visit remains a mere episode in Irish history. Permanent results it had none. The Anglo-Norman feudatories, who had hoped for vast territorial gains as a result of the royal "grants," found the resistance of the native chiefs more stubborn than ever : fifty years later, their lines were either extinct or had become half-Gaelicised.

The submissions proved an utterly ineffective barrier to the tide of Gaelic reaction. Indeed, as Professor Curtis succinctly puts it, " it is doubtful whether the English land, language, and law gained a single foot at the expense of the Irish revival, as a result of the submissions of 1395." D. A. B.

THE JUDGES IN IRELAND, 1221-1921. By F. Elrington Ball, Hon. Litt.D., Dublin. London: Murray. 1926. 2 vols, 8vo., xxii+365, 408 pp. 32*s*. net.

WITH greater exactness Dr. Ball might have entitled his work " The Judges appointed in Ireland by authority of the Kings of England, 1221-1921." It is not only, as he indicates himself, that " the large districts still under the rule of Irish princes " and " the liberties granted to the greater Norman settlers " lie beyond his scope; he has excluded also the secular courts of bishops and other prelates as well as the whole vast system of purely ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which until comparatively modern times extended over many important interests of daily life, now drawn into the secular courts. By these separate jurisdictions, independent, even when derived, so long as they acted rightly within their proper territories, the operation, not of the common law, as Dr. Ball has stated inadvertently, but of the king's courts was confined to narrow areas for centuries. During the reigns of Henry II and Richard I and for the first half of the reign of John, unless through fault or dereliction of the lord palatine, the king of England had not judicial authority in the great territory of Meath, whose regalities De Lacy held as fully as O Maoilseachlainn, the last unquestioned Irish king; nor, save for two cantreds about Dublin, in the whole kingdom of Leinster, which Fitz-Gilbert had received with the daughter of MacMurchadha. It was not until the second half of John's reign that that monarch obtained entry for his own judges into those liberties by expressly withdrawing from the lords palatine the four pleas of arson, rape, forestalling and treasure-trove, having got an opportunity by taking the liberties into his own hand. Yet, although these palatine courts had had plenary jurisdiction, the law they administered was the same as that administered in the royal courts, namely, the common law of England, " that ancient collection of unwritten maxims and customs," as Blackstone calls it, " handed down by tradition, use and experience." The new lords and their followers had experience of no other system; no other system could have prevailed among them in those early days of the occupation. It might be thought, then, when Dr.

Ball writes that "the liberties granted to the greater settlers and the rights of the custodians and seneschals proved a formidable obstacle to the common law," that the term common law meant the jurisdiction of the royal courts. That would be a serious misapprehension. The king's feudatories may have opposed the withdrawal of a part of the jurisdiction of which they had possession; but it was the king's encroachments they opposed and not the common law. To lay a sure foundation for a history of English legal institutions in Ireland there is still to be desiderated a careful examination into the judicial antiquities of the colony as a whole, royal, palatine and borough jurisdictions, during that period of fifty years between Henry II's landing and the year 1221, which Dr. Ball has taken for his starting point. It may be, however, that the time has passed when that inquiry could be made successfully. Since Dr. Ball began his labours much of the material has been destroyed.

It is, therefore, no small cause for congratulation that previous to that calamity it had been explored by one so painstaking and capable, and that he has been able to make public in these two volumes the large results of his researches in that and many other quarters. The quantity and range of the authorities utilised are evidence of indefatigable and scrupulous industry, as the result is a monument of his judgment and ability. It is not to be expected that in a work of this kind, breaking new ground, every statement can be put forward as final. The discoverer can but report what he has found. One must be prepared, in the earliest period especially, for rectifications. Fromund le Brun, for instance, whose chancellorship has been dated 1268, is mentioned as chancellor by Alen's Register at 1263 and 1264; William le Devenys, dated as justice itinerant at 1302, is found there holding pleas at Dublin with Thomas Chadesworth (de Chaddesworth, justice of the bench) in 1294; Richard de Exeter, dated justice itinerant at 1261, appears there in 1258. These modifications, it will be noted, confirm the general accuracy of Dr. Ball's lists by showing that the persons named did hold their offices in those times, though somewhat earlier than the years at which he found them.

In the second volume, which deals with the period subsequent to the English Revolution, Dr. Ball has a theme that gives scope for his exceptional acquaintance with the social and political affairs and intrigues of the 18th century, and he illustrates and enlivens it liberally from his accumulated stores. To the ordinary reader this will be the most attractive part of a work which in all its parts is a solid and valuable contribution to knowledge.

C. McN.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HISTORY. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. 4s. net.
MR. BELLOC STILL OBJECTS. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Sheed and Ward. 1926. 7d.

THE chief onslaught against the Faith, at least in English-speaking countries, comes from the historical ground. The Church has lived in the world for twenty centuries, as an organization complex in structure and function. It has passed through this extent of time not silently as a shadow or an onlooker. It has faced many different minds, has lived in many civilizations. It has been a teacher, both of what is beyond man's grasp and of what is against man's nature. It has claimed to speak of the highest things and with unique, infallible authority. Politics, art, letters, conduct, business—*quidquid agunt homines*, that has been its province. It has touched life and fact at a thousand points.

Obviously it exposes a wide flank to the attack of the student of history. Its career can be checked by historical science. Has the Church ever taught error or persevered in maintaining discredited positions? Is not the Church, in its complex organization, worked by men who are often no credit to it? Is it not, in its method of functioning, too much like a merely human institution? A Protestant historical student would say: The Church is divine in its origin, no doubt; but it has degenerated and has become overgrown with purely human accretions. The sceptic says, the Catholic Church is simply one—the most striking, it is true—of a class of phenomena familiar to every student of the history of religion. Its doctrines, rites, practices, claims are found in different degrees and combinations, whenever man has tried to project into *formulae* and cult his religious instincts.

Mr. Belloc then examines these lines of historical attack. He defines the questions with precision and meets them with great vigour. To the Protestant view he shows there are two fatal tests—that of Innovation and that of Critical Date. How is it that heresy is always the new, disturbing thing, while the definition is always traditional? If there has been a process of warping and corruption, there should be some agreement as to the period (not necessarily the exact year) of flexion. To the sceptic he answers: your generalization is too hasty. The Church is not one of a number: it is unique. No other body has ever claimed to satisfy man so fully, and has justified that claim so completely.

Mr. Belloc's book, written with all his cogency and precision,

is an excellent weapon for the intelligent Catholic, and not merely a defensive weapon—though that is all its author modestly claims for it.

Mr. Wells professes to be surprised that his *Outline of History* was not hailed as a masterpiece by Catholics, and has been sharply stung by Mr. Belloc's courteous but frank criticism in the *Universe*. In his pamphlet, *Mr. Belloc objects to the "Outline of History,"* he has shown ill-temper, bad manners and little else. Mr. Belloc has published his criticism in pamphlet form, with a clever parody of Mr. Wells's title. But it is not Mr. Belloc alone who objects to superficial, unscientific history: to a rehash of exploded theories on the origin of man and the Church. Others will be found to object to a survey of world-history which denies a Creative God, a Saviour, a divinely-founded Church, the Eucharist, the immortality of the soul—in a word, all the supernatural realities and truths which are everything to Catholics and to many Christians. Mr. Belloc speaks for all such, and they will thank him for his trenchant and triumphant objection to bad science and false history. H. K.

Miscellaneous

THE WANDERING SCHOLARS. By Helen Waddell. London: Constable. 1927. 21*s.* net.

Miss Waddell's book is a fascinating study of a fascinating department of literature that is too little known. Her subject is the secular lyric poetry in the Latin tongue, produced in the period between the close of the classical age and the Renaissance—roughly, the period from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This poetry forms but a part of the output in Latin verse of the period, but it is on the whole in this domain that work of real literary quality is to be found in verse. The sacred lyric, indeed, of the period is unsurpassed in its kind in any language, and Miss Waddell does not neglect it; but her main attention is given to the work of the kind that her title suggests, viz., the anacreontic and satirical poems composed by the *scholares vagantes*, so marked a feature of medieval life.

This lyric verse has for its themes the eternal themes of lyric poetry in every age and place. Much of it no doubt is coarse in sentiment—indeed "obscene" would not be too harsh an epithet to describe a large part of it; but much of it, nevertheless, as pure literature has qualities of surprising excellence. Miss Waddell's pages contain examples in abundance that need not

fear comparison with much that is to be reckoned as of high literary value in the modern tongues.

The Goliards, or wandering scholars, who make their appearance in the period of the rise of the great medieval universities, may be called the Latin trouvères of the time, and in their work one finds mirrored their reckless lives, with all their riot and intemperance. Many of these men were frankly rascals, whom the custom of the university life of the time had turned into *clerici*, and who, neither in life nor literary work, were a credit to themselves or to the universities or to the Church. One must remember the enormous number of the students who then thronged to the universities, drawn from every class of the community, and also the free trade in knowledge which was the rule between the different universities when the international comity of Christendom was as yet unbroken. This will help one to understand the Bohemianism that marked them for its own.

Much of their verse is satirical, directed against Church dignitaries of their time, or else the outcome of disappointment due to the want of success that was the result of their own disordered inclinations. To take their work as the *pièces justificatives* of a general indictment against the ecclesiastical system of the time, would be just as rational as to take the similar outpourings of a recreant priest of our own day as a true picture of the system he has deserted. Rancour has in every age the same kind of roots—pride and disappointment. The drunkard endowed with some literary genius will lament that learning has no opportunities because he has failed—so Villon might have mourned in his time, and he, if a genius, was none the less a rascal whose plight was due to himself. That these wandering scholars were in general a blot on the social system of their day, the evidence Miss Waddell's book contains from the statutes of Councils in different periods makes abundantly clear. But it would be a serious error to take the loose-living student as typical of all the wandering scholars.

Miss Waddell is steeped in the literature of the whole period she surveys. Her scholarship and her sense of its literary charm make her an admirable exponent of it at its best. Some of her translations are marvellously happy in their reproduction of the spirit and flavour of the originals. If she would only use her scholarship to present an anthology of the lyrics of the period, edited as she could edit it, she would do a really needed service to literary scholarship. For it is certainly true that this literature is rich in work that ought to be better known, for the sake not only of the letters but of the life of the period of its origin. The

present volume is so attractive that her readers will ask her for more. W. J. W.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI: 1226-1926. Essays in Commemoration. London: University of London Press. 1926. Pp. xiii +322. 16s. net.

THIS is decidedly one of the most interesting and scholarly of the almost innumerable contributions evoked by the present Centenary of St. Francis (1226-1926/27). It consists of a series of essays, twelve in number if we count the "Preface" by Paul Sabatier. This Preface is mainly remarkable for the French Professor's superb tribute to the Life of St. Francis by Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., which he regards as the finest of fifty or more biographies of the Saint. At the same time the great French savant must be always read with caution, and little or nothing taken on his *ipse dixit.* For instance, he makes the following astounding statement: "L'esprit franciscan est mieux compris en Angleterre que partout ailleurs." Think of what Italy, France, Spain and, in a particular way, Germany have contributed to Franciscan literature in comparison to the efforts of Little, Seton, Burkitt and a few others. M. Sabatier's anti-Catholic bias sometimes gets the better of his critical talents.

To whet the appetite of readers interested in Franciscan studies it suffices to mention the titles of the various Essays. I.—"Some Franciscan Subjects in Italian Art" by Prof. Tancred Borenius. The author refers in the opening sentence to "the importance of St. Francis for the development of Italian Art, now being one of the commonplaces of art history." II.—"The Study of the Sources of the Life of St. Francis" by Prof. F. C. Burkitt. This article places the author in the foremost rank of Franciscan critics. He is the most eminent recent accession to Franciscan Studies. III.—"St. Francis and Dante" by Prof. Edmund G. Gardner, who is easily the most eminent English exponent of Dante. IV.—"The Little Flowers" of St. Francis by the same author. The "Fioretti" are of intense interest linguistically, though historically they are merely translations of the Latin "Actus S. Francisci et Sociorum," or of the "Floretum" of which Wadding speaks. V.—"The Dilemma of St. Francis" by Harold E. Goad.—"The First Hundred Years of the Franciscan School" by A. G. Little. For a fuller discussion of this topic we refer the reader to the Centenary Number of A.F.H. (1926), where the same author expatiates at length on the same subject. VII.—"Franciscan Thought and Modern

Philosophy " by Camillo Pelizzi. This author writes at random, shows no clear conception of mediaeval philosophy, and is incoherent throughout. The modern vagaries which are called " philosophy " have their antecedent and root, he would have us believe, in the Dominican but especially in the Franciscan schools. " Monism, intuitionism, voluntarism, finalism, pragmatism, idealism, all stand on one side (to put it roughly, the Franciscan); dualism, rationalism, positivism, realism stand on the other," *i.e.*, the Dominican side! VIII.—" The Last Two Years of St. Francis' Life " by Walter Seton. IX.—" The Rediscovery of St. Francis of Assisi " by Walter Seton. X.—" St. Francis in Rome " by Mrs. Arthur Strong. XI.—" Two Franciscan Mystics, Jacopone da Todi and Angela of Foligno " by Evelyn Underhill. In orthodoxy and in sympathetic treatment this essay might have been written by a Franciscan Theologian. G. CLEARY.

LE PETIT PAUVRE AU PAYS D'ASSISE. By Edouard Schneider. Paris: Grasset. 1926. 12 fr.

FOR those who have the good fortune to go to Assisi in this Franciscan year—indeed for those who have gone or will go there at any time—we cannot imagine a more delightfully companionable book than *Le petit Pauvre au pays d'Assise.* The author has been so much in Italy, and studied it and its history and people with so much interest and sympathy, that cities and landscapes, churches and *musei*, citizens and peasants, saints, monks and artists positively live in his descriptions. It is not the story of St. Francis, the facts being supposed to be known; but the evocation of his life with his brethren in their familiar surroundings; of its two aspects " the picturesque, by which the poet comes to his own, the spiritual by which the pilgrim on earth purifies his humanity "—it is rather the first that is treated in detail; and yet it would be difficult to find a more vivid and appealing exposition of the Franciscan spirit of renunciation, submission, and spiritual joy. M. R.

Philosophy

INSTITUTIONES METAPHYSICAE GENERALIS. Éléments d'Ontologie. Par le P. Pedro Descoqs, S.J. Vol. I. Paris: Beauchesne. 1925. 60 fr.

THE title of this book might give the impression that it is a text-book, whereas, in point of fact, it is a book of 638 pages, the first published volume of a large work which the author is preparing. When completed it will run to four volumes. In this volume, Fr. Descoqs analyses at great length and with a

wide apparatus of erudition, the first ontological concepts—Being as such, and its transcendental attributes. He is on difficult ground, on which many battles have been fought, but he takes sides frankly and fearlessly. In a lengthy introduction of nearly 100 pages, where he discusses very ably the method of Metaphysics, the author pays a handsome tribute to St. Thomas, and promises to teach his system, though he may differ from him in details. Many readers, we imagine, after reading the book, will doubt whether the promise has been kept.

Fr. Descoqs defends the strict unity of the concept of Being, the strict unity, that is, of the objective concept, of the concept in so far as it *represents* an object—a division and terminology taken from Schiffini. He admits, further, that this concept, strictly one, cannot represent an element that is perfectly identical in each being; for, if it did, Pantheism is the result. The concept of Being, says Fr. Descoqs, is "simpliciter unus, diversus secundum quid"; the objects are "simpliciter diversa et unum secundum quid," *i.e.*, "par leur relation au concept unique qui les représente avec vérité— respiciunt unum" (p. 247). How does a concept of this kind represent truthfully objects which are simply diverse? Because these objects, says Fr. Descoqs, have a simple similitude to each other—an ultimate datum which cannot be simplified any further. To many this will seem neither a satisfactory solution of the problem nor St. Thomas's; they will still hold to the opinion that Cajetan's explanation of the similitude by a similarity of proportions explains both how the concept is confusedly one, and the objects are simply diverse. We cannot help feeling that Fr. Descoqs sets up this theory of analogy, because he intends in a future volume to deny the real distinction between essence and existence. Proportionality is purely extrinsic, it is metaphor, if some terms of a proportion are not really distinct; and because essence and existence are not really distinct in created being, as Fr. Descoqs will prove subsequently (partly, no doubt, with the aid of this very theory of analogy), all analogy of proportionality is metaphor. If so, the Thomist theory leads to Agnosticism. It might be objected that St. Thomas teaches beyond a shadow of doubt that essence and existence in created being are really distinct, and that therefore he could not have set up a theory of analogy which destroyed that pivotal contention.

It would take us too far afield to discuss in detail the passages of St. Thomas which Fr. Descoqs cites to prove his case. If one has read Fr. Raminez's book on Analogy, one will be able to deal with them.

The book has one great defect—it is full of a partisan spirit. No one could fairly object to the author taking a decided stand in controverted questions, but an objection may fairly be raised against his habit of brushing aside his opponent's arguments as verbal subtleties. For instance, we have always thought that the Thomist philosophers displayed great critical acumen and employed with amazing skill the best scholastic method, when they explained the analogy of Proportionality and of Attribution in the terms of the four ultimate causes. The very fact that they are able to state their theory in these terms is an additional argument in favour of it. To Fr. Descoqs all this is a play on words, because he does not accept the Thomist theory.

Apart from this defect, the book is excellent. Criteriology and Ontology are made to serve each other all through, as Fr. Descoqs never loses sight of their relationship. The long discussion on the Principle of Sufficient Reason makes stimulating reading, the author holding the view that it cannot formally be reduced to the Principle of Contradiction. There is an interesting passage on the love of God, which takes in even ecstatic love. In fact, the author touches on many topics not found as a rule in metaphysical treatises, and his touch is always personal.

There is a long bibliography, in fact, an exhaustive one.

This book is the most important work on Metaphysics that has appeared recently. It could not safely be overlooked by professors of this subject. The method of treatment alone is suggestive, as the author gives most of his explanations in French, though he throws the formal theses into Latin. If read in conjunction with Fr. Maréchal's *Le Point de Départ de la Métaphysique*, it will show the trend of modern scholastic thought, and demonstrate how full of vitality the Scholastic system is.

J. E. C.

LE PRIMAT DE L'INTELLIGENCE DANS L'HISTOIRE DE LA PENSEE. Par l'Abbé O. Habert. Paris: Beauchesne. 1927. Pp. xv+448. 42 fr.

WE have found it difficult to make up our mind about this book. The publisher's circular claims that it is " une vaste synthèse . . . capable de concilier les idées et la vie, le concept et l'intuition, la société et l'individu, la quantité et la qualité." But then a publisher's circular will claim anything. M. Habert himself proposes a more modest plan: " . . . initier un jeune homme de dix-huit ans, ou toute autre personne cultivée, à la philosophie. On envisage une initiation progressive qui montre combien il

est naturel de philosopher et pourquoi les hommes furent amenés à le faire " (p. 9). But we are not sure that he has carried it out.

For one thing, we cannot find a clear principle of development. Thus the first three chapters deal with the relations of philosophy with science and the humanities. The fourth chapter discusses the pre-history of the *primitifs* of human thought. Chapters five to eight traverse the history of philosophy from the *Upanishads* to Anatole France. Chapter nine treats of the value of philosophy. In chapter ten we are back on old ground : " Attitude à garder en face de quelques systèmes contemporains "—wherein M. Habert makes a tour of the modern philosophical battlefront from materialism, through evolution and pragmatism, to dilettantism. The last section deals with the nature and importance of philosophy. Now if there is any principle of order and development running through such a distribution of matter, we have only to admit that we have not found it.

As regards the general treatment of his subject, H. Habert is casual, encyclopedic in his allusiveness, and wanting in that incisive dialectic proper to S. Thomas's intellectualism. The note of chauvinism appears in places ; and the statement that the suffering of the Allies in the Great War was not only for material interests, " mais plutôt pour des principes de justice, de liberté, de droits des minorités, de réparation de droit . . . une guerre philosophique et religieuse en même temps qu'économique " (p. 435), does honour to M. Habert's heart but not to his head.

If the book had been provided with an index, it would render useful service to young men of eighteen who like to turn from the manuals to a work such as M. Habert's, in which, in spite of a general looseness of treatment—or perhaps on account of it—they could find a pleasant literary account of a great name or system studied in the light of Catholic philosophy.

D. S. N.

Politics

THE UNREFORMED SENATE OF CANADA. By Robert A. Mackay, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University. London : Humphrey Milford. 1926. 15s. net.

It is an open secret that the recent Government Committee on the Constitution of the Free State had under consideration the question of the constitution and election of the Senate. Whether they arrived at any conclusions on this important question has not been disclosed, although there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that steps will be taken to end the present method of election to that body if the Government is returned again to

power. For this, and other reasons, Professor Mackay's book on the Canadian Senate is of more than ordinary interest to Irish readers. It deals most exhaustively with all the problems arising from the creation of a second chamber. No other type of legislative body arouses so much discussion as to its value. The popular chamber has always the same characteristic : the members are elected by the people, the only difference consisting in the nature of the franchise, now tending everywhere to less restriction. The second chamber, on the other hand, shows great variety of type. In the United States and in Australia members are chosen on a liberal franchise ; in France by indirect election ; in Canada they are appointed for life by the Government of the day ; in Norway they are elected by the lower house from its own members, and are really little more than a super-parliamentary committee.

Lord Bryce divides upper houses into three classes : those with legal and political powers equal to those of the lower house ; those which legally have powers equal or almost equal to those of the lower house, but which in practice exercise less ; and those with less power both legally and practically. Of the first the Senate of the United States is a good example ; of the second class the English House of Lords is a type ; our own Senate exemplifies the third. The Senate of Canada belongs to the second class. It consists of ninety-six Senators, appointed for life by the Crown on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, and possesses the power of initiating, revising, and vetoing legislation. Each province is equally represented. Senators must be over thirty years of age and possess a property qualification. Ministers who are members of the lower house cannot attend and address the Senate, as in the Free State, so the Government of the day has to be directly represented by Ministers who are also Senators. In practice it is generally represented by one Minister without portfolio, who is not conversant with the working of any particular department, and this naturally is a serious drawback.

Professor Mackay examines carefully the working of the Canadian upper house, and proves that the Senate has used its veto power upon Government legislation with judicious care and without caprice, that it has never defeated the real will of the people or obstructed it when that will was clearly expressed, and that it has protected Parliament against encroachments of the Cabinet, but has been often moved by party considerations. One of the most important functions the Senate has performed is the protection of property and personal rights. It has also been of service in protecting national interests from invasion by

private corporations, in protecting the rights and interests of minorities, and in preventing organised minorities from imposing their will on the whole community. It has never opposed bills for social reform for which there was a clear public demand.

Whilst criticising strongly the partisan method by which the Senate is appointed, he points out that it has not been without useful results, not the least of which has been the opportunity it has offered to a Prime Minister to strengthen his Cabinet by bringing in able men and of retaining the services of Ministers of advanced age whose assistance was still valuable. We may dismiss the theory that upper houses of this class are a bulwark against social or political revolution. Nor can an upper house be considered a safeguard against a retrogression to autocratic government. The true functions of a second chamber would seem to comprise the examination and revision of bills passed by the lower house, the initiation of bills dealing with subjects of a comparatively non-controversial nature, the interposition of so much delay (and no more) in the passing of a bill into law as may be needed to enable the opinion of the nation to be adequately expressed, and finally the full and free discussion of large and important questions such as those of foreign policy.

The constitution and election of such a body are questions of considerable difficulty, as we in Ireland have discovered by experience. Professor Mackay believes that the principal defects in the Canadian system are that the Senate rests on no popular foundation, that it suffers from inertia owing to the life tenure of its members, and from partisanship owing to its being sometimes composed almost entirely of members of a single party. His suggestions for reform are that the term of membership should be nine years, that one half of the Senate should be elected by the House of Commons from former members of the Dominion or provincial legislatures, and the remaining half should be appointed by the Government of the day from those who have served in public offices of a non-partisan nature and persons nominated by the principal vocational organizations, all appointments to be publicly laid before Parliament for criticism two weeks before going into effect with a statement of qualifications and the name of the association making the nomination. Such a system of election might well be adopted in the Free State. In practice it would mean that half of the future vacancies in the Senate would be elected by the Dail from former members of the Dail or from persons who had served on local government bodies, and the other half would be appointed by the government of the

day from a panel composed of all who have held public office of a non-partisan nature or who have been nominated by public or professional associations such as the Chambers of Commerce, the Trades' Union Congress and the Law Society. The last Senate election has made it obvious that the entire nation is too large a constituency, and that direct election is not the most desirable method of securing a representative second chamber.

Professor Mackay's book is by far the best discussion of the problems which we have to consider before any alterations can be made, and we hope it will be carefully studied by whatever Irish government has to decide the future of the Free State Senate. JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE DE IMPERATORUM ET PONTIFICUM POTESTATE OF WILLIAM OF OCKHAM. Edited by C. Kenneth Brampton, M.A., B.Litt. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1927. 7s. 6d. net.

THE publication of this work, from a unique manuscript in the British Museum, will be welcomed by all students of Ockham. The works of Ockham are still very inaccessible, and a scientific study of his philosophy has not yet been made. More attention has been devoted to his political theories; although here also, as is evident from Mr. Brampton's introduction and notes, much remains to be done. Mr. Brampton in fact fails to give us the kind of information which the student of Ockham's political thought will naturally look for. One would be glad to get an exact comparison between Ockham's reasoning in this work and his more extended treatment of the same problems elsewhere. It would be interesting also to know with precision Ockham's relation to the work of Marsilius.

Mr. Brampton tells us nothing about all this, but devotes his somewhat vague Introduction to an elucidation of the problem of Ockham's relation to the Reformation, which occurred some two hundred years after his death. This method of elucidation, if uninformative, may perhaps appear innocuous. But this in fact is not the case, because, in his effort to show how Ockham anticipated later theories, Mr. Brampton is often led into positive error, as *e.g.*, in a note on page 4, in which he supposes, quite erroneously, that Ockham makes "an attempt to justify private interpretation." Whatever may be thought of Ockham's conclusions, he employs, as is inevitable, the type of argument customary in his time. No other method would have appeared plausible in the fourteenth century. D. O'K.

Theology

THE THEOLOGY OF SAINT PAUL. By Fernand Prat, S.J. Translated from the eleventh French edition by John L. Stoddard. 2 volumes. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. 15s. net. each.

It has been said that, whereas the religion of Christianity is Christ's, its theology is St. Paul's. Christ was the founder, the originator, the Master. "Other foundation," said St. Paul himself, "no man can lay but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus" (1 Cor. iii. 11). St. Paul taught no other doctrine than that which he held from Christ. "Is Christ divided that one should say, I am of Christ and another, I of Paul?" (1 Cor. i. 12). St. Paul's theology was, as it were, the growth of Christ's seed. And as St. Paul's theology was derived from Christ, so Christian theology is derived from St. Paul. "It is an acknowledged fact," says Father Prat, "that the theology of Augustine and through Augustine that of St. Thomas and through St. Thomas the whole of scholastic theology is derived in a straight line from the teaching of Paul." No more need be said by way of pointing out the importance of such a work as this, especially in view of the fact that there is no other Catholic work covering the same ground.

The extent of the work may be gauged by the fact that it runs to over one thousand closely printed pages in which there is neither rhetoric nor padding. Its plan is as follows. After an introductory sketch of St. Paul's life and apostolate, the author takes one epistle after another, places it in its true setting in relation to the circumstances of the Apostle's life and of the times, and outlines its contents, reserving all the knotty points for "detached notes" (each a little treatise in itself) which he places at the end. But to leave the matter there would be to produce but a disconnected and scattered picture of St. Paul's teaching. Accordingly in the second volume Father Prat presents a synthesis of the Apostle's doctrine. He studies first, under the title Paulinism, the distinctive characteristics of St. Paul's teaching. Then come chapters on the Pre-history of the Redemption, the Person of the Redeemer, the Work of Redemption, the Channels of Redemption (Faith, the Sacraments, the Church), the Fruits of Redemption.

The book is, as we have already hinted, a standard work: it had reached its eleventh edition in French, and it was time that it should be made available to those of the educated public

in English-speaking countries who do not read French with ease. Catholics the world over have therefore every reason to be grateful to the distinguished translator and publishers of the work. The translation is so well done that one is seldom reminded that this is not a work originally written in English. And the production is admirable in every respect.

We have but one important criticism to formulate—the translator does not tell us how he deals with the Englishing of St. Paul, viz., whether he translates from the original Greek or from the French of Father Prat, or whether on the other hand he transcribes some existing version. Comparison of the passages quoted in Mr. Stoddard's version with the present reviewer's copy of the Douai Bible makes it evident that Mr. Stoddard has transcribed that version, with but trifling variations. This we cannot but consider a serious mistake *in a work of this kind*, in view of the fact that several much better translations exist, notably the Westminster Version brought out under Catholic auspices. S. J. B.

S. AURELI AUGUSTINI DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS LIBER UNUS. Translated with an Introduction and Commentary. By Joseph Patrick Christopher, Ph.D. Washington: Catholic University. 1926. $3.00.

THE Catholic University of America in Washington has already a fine record of research in the field of patristic studies. Almost every year some new dissertation reaches us from their press on the style and language of one or other of the Fathers. These have been grouped together as a series—*The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies*—under the editorship of Dr. Roy J. Deferrari. Dr. Christopher's edition of the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* forms Vol. VIII of this series. St. Augustine's little treatise on the art of catechism is a valuable document of early Christian literature—partly for the light which it throws on the saint's character, but most of all for the information which it gives us about the methods of Christian teaching in the fourth and fifth centuries. For the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* is our only source of information as to the kind of instruction given, not to the catechumens proper (the *competentes*), but to the candidates for admission to the catechumenate (the *accedentes*); it is thus a most useful complement to St. Ambrose's *De Mysteriis* and the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Its influence on later catechetical literature has been immense.

Dr. Christopher sets forth these main facts in a short intro-

duction, but the great mass of his erudition appears in the notes, at the end of the volume. The labour required to compile these notes must have been immense, and it has plainly been a labour of love. Scholars of many lands, and with widely divergent interests, will welcome this great mass of material brought together in a single commentary; but the ordinary student will perhaps regret the method followed by Dr. Christopher. Most readers do not need a commentary on a treatise like this, which is plain enough and tells its own tale. What they want are studies—historical, philological, dogmatic and so forth—which will help them to place the treatise in its proper background. Dr. Christopher has collected all the necessary materials with lavish profusion, but he gives us them in an unhandy form. On pp. 245-7, for example, there is a most valuable note on the Augustinian use of the word *civitas*, and the whole idea of a "City of God." Would it not have been better placed in the Introduction, where we are told that the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* stands in close relation to the *De Civitate Dei*? Again, on p. 204, there is valuable information about St. Augustine's use of the method of question and answer in catechism. The note occurs here because in c. 13 of his treatise St. Augustine directs that a question should be put to the candidate; but there is a cross-reference to another long and very valuable note on p. 309 which discusses the same subject in connection with a passage in ch. 26. Those who will gladly pick Dr. Christopher's brains on this and many other problems—and I am of the number—will regret that he has not made the task easier.

All through his Introduction Dr. Christopher insists on the contrast between the style and tone of the *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, which stands in close relation with the *Confessions*, and the more elaborate "Sophistic" style of some of St. Augustine's earlier works. This is true, and Sister Inviolata Barry's recent work on *St. Augustine the Orator* (Vol. VI of the present series) has given us new and enlightening statistics to illustrate the change. But Dr. Christopher is surely wrong in attributing this change to "the sound theoretical doctrine laid down by Cicero." St. Augustine did not begin to study the *De Oratore* and the *Orator* as an old man: he was a Ciceronian all his life. The *Hortensius* had a profound influence on his early psychological development, and the great orator's theory of eloquence was known to him from his schoolboy days. The wilful perversity of the saint's own style makes us often hesitate to class him as a true Ciceronian (though his early dialogues surely earn him the title); but the later

majesty of the *Confessions*, the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and the *Homilies on St. John's Gospel* is due, not to renewed study of Cicero, but to increasing familiarity with Holy Scripture. Three years before his death St. Augustine published his *De doctrina Christiana*, in which the Christian orator is bidden study the principles of Cicero's rhetoric, but find the food of his mind in God's written word. The *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, for all its simplicity, has some useful lessons on the same subject. Indeed the eighth and ninth chapters, in which St. Augustine suggests how the reading of Scripture can be made attractive to more educated converts, show to the full that gift of personal sympathy which makes the greatest of Catholic Doctors one of the best-loved of Catholic saints. A. G.

Shorter Notices

A BOOK OF CHURCH HISTORY. By Susan Cunnington, M.A. (Cantab.). London: Longmans. 1926. 3s. 6d.

To compress the history of the Church into a small volume is a task so difficult that it has rarely been undertaken with success. So long and so gloriously has the Spouse of Christ been engaged upon her divine mission, so manifold have been her activities, so varied her fortunes, so diverse the countries with which she has had to deal that it is well nigh impossible to give every incident in her story its proper place and prominence, and so to distribute the light and shadow that the finished picture may be a true likeness. Miss Cunnington has made an admirable effort to achieve this result. Writing for younger students and for the general reader she has confined herself to the main lines of the Church's development; adding, however, sufficient details to make a continuous narrative possible. The Catholic standpoint finds expression even in the construction of her chapters, for one section of each is devoted exclusively to the internal life of the Church. Her style is pleasing and her judgment sound. Ireland, for instance, finds just the place in her pages which the Irish contribution to the Christian cause deserves. Her treatment of our country, too, is marked by an intelligent sympathy which we should like to see imitated by all writers on ecclesiastical history.

A number of errors, some of them mere slips, others of a more serious nature, need correction in the next edition. There may have been Christians in Britain at the end of the second century, but proof of this is surely not to be sought in the legend (p. 10) of King Lucius and Pope Eleutherius, found in its earliest form in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and in its later form in Welsh tales with Lles ap Coel or Lleufer Mawr as the central figure. With regard to Saint Cyprian (p. 23), it is well to point out that he expressly recognised the primacy of the Pope, and that his refusal to accept the judgment of the Supreme Pontiff on the question of re-baptism for heretics was (as even Harnack has admitted) in contradiction with his own teaching. It is hardly right to say (p. 46) that Constantinople succeeded Alexandria as the second city in Christendom, at least before the destruction of Alexandria as a Christian metropolis. Such a claim, based on mere political pre-eminence, the Popes consistently refused to entertain. St. David should not be styled an "Archbishop" (p. 62), as Wales received an Archbishop for the first time in 1916. To speak of Charles the Great succeeding to the

throne as "the Charlemagne of proud France" (p. 81) hardly conveys the right impression of a monarch whose mother tongue was German and whose residence, as far as he can be said to have had a fixed residence at all, was Aachen. The pretensions of the Eastern Church (p. 83) to be superior to the West in culture were not arrogant, but fully justified, in the eighth century; the East had suffered but little from the incursions of barbarians. Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, is wrongly referred to as Empress (p. 102 and p. 109). St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusian Order, who was a native of Cologne, is confused (p. 103) with an earlier namesake, who was archbishop of that city and brother of the Emperor Otto I. Eriguena (p. 108 and p. 255) should read Eriugena; and Cardinal Hergenwether (p. 113) should read Cardinal Hergenroether. Abelard and Héloise (p. 121) had no vows to forsake before their misfortunes, as the former was only in minor orders and the latter lived with her priest uncle in the world. The battle (p. 133) where the Moorish forces suffered so signal a defeat should read "Las Navas de Tolosa." Roger Bacon, though a scientist, did not, we hope, entitle his great work the Opus *Maior*, as the author does on p. 140. Ruysbroek is a better spelling than Ruysbrock (p. 153) for the great Flemish *Doctor Ecstaticus*. The statement (p. 154) that there were two canonically elected Popes at the time of the Council of Pisa cannot be accepted as accurate, for it is certain that Urban VI was the legitimate successor of St. Peter. The Avignon election of 1394, from which Pedro de Luna emerged with the title of Pope, was quite uncanonical. In treating of Marsilius of Padua and Duns Scotus (p. 157) distinction should be drawn more sharply between the heretic and the brilliant Catholic theologian. It is surprising to find (p. 157) William Occam set down as an eager Scotist. The voluntaristic tendency in the psychology of both may be stressed, but on the fundamental question of the Universals the two were poles apart. Occam, the "venerabilis inceptor," gave an impulse to Nominalism which was felt throughout the whole of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; whilst Scotus belonged to the category of extreme Realists. The sad news that late medieval Ireland was "ground beneath the tyranny of the Statute of Kilkenny" (p. 160) will be read with dry eyes on this side of the Irish Sea. English power in Ireland was then confined to the Pale, and the purpose of the Act was to prevent the English settlers in that small region from becoming completely assimilated to their Irish neighbours. The wording of Luther's theses may have been insolent, but his affixing them to the Church door at Wittenberg was not (p. 174), for that was the traditional way of announcing a coming disputation in the early sixteenth century. Amid the books suggested for further reading on p. 176, Pastor's *History of the Popes* is strangely omitted. St. Alphonsus Rodriguez did not die at a great age after missions to Japan; nor was Blessed Peter Favre ever canonised; nor did St. Francis Borgia enter the Jesuit Order as a laybrother (p. 181); nor was Alphonsus Liguori a Spanish saint (p. 196); nor was Dr. Ketteler bishop of Metz, but bishop of Mainz (p. 224). "The generous extension of Dominion rank to Ireland" (p. 228) might have been passed over in silence were we not informed that this generosity was manifested in 1919. Appended are a number of tables which would also need careful revision. J. R.

PLANTING THE FAITH IN DARKEST AFRICA. The Life Story of Father Simeon Lourdel. By F. A. Forbes. London: Sands. 1927. 3s. 6d.

In all the white-armoured battle ranks of the martyrs—*Martyrum candidatus exercitus*—there is no more heroic company than that known as the Martyrs of Uganda—Charles Lwanga, Matthias Murumba and their twenty companions, who were declared "Blessed" by Pope Benedict XV. on June

6, 1920, the year that witnessed the Canonization of Joan of Arc and the Beatification of our own Oliver Plunkett. Some of them, like Matthias Murumba, were grave men in responsible positions—magistrates, court officials, etc. But the greater number were young nobles in their teens, pages at the Court of King Muanga of Uganda; and one of them, little Kizito, was only thirteen. Exquisite are the words in which *the Apostolic Letter* pictures this boy martyr for us: "Candidula anima . . . innocentia ac firmitate animi praeclarus. Quosdam vero christianos, quod fugam ceperant, Kizito ita objurgavit ut ii se regi Muanga, metu deposito, stiterint; et cum in eo esset ut ad supplicium duceretur, sociis, ne quis animo deficeret, auctor fuit ut conjunctis inter se manibus omnes simul procederent."

It is the story of these victorious "athletes of Christ" and of him who trained them for their victory, Father Simeon Lourdel, one of Cardinal Lavigerie's White Fathers, that Mother F. A. Forbes (already well known for her *Life of Pius X.*) has told, in simple, appealing style, in her latest book. It is to be hoped that it will find a place in the "Mission Press," which ought to be a feature in every school library in Catholic Ireland.

HELENA CONCANNON.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ASZESE UND MYSTIK. 2 Jahrgang: Heft 1 & 2. Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia. 1927. Jährlich R.M. 11.6.

WE are late in welcoming this German counterpart to the French *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*; for the first number of the new German-Austrian review appeared in January, 1926, and six quarterly numbers have since been issued. Glancing back through the contents of these six numbers, one sees plainly enough the general policy of its editors. This is no mere propagandist review of Jesuit spirituality, though many of its articles deal with the asceticism (and mysticism) of the Spiritual Exercises; and one at least defines clearly the writer's attitude towards the Benedictine liturgical movement in its more extreme German manifestations. For controversy is inevitable, even in ascetical and mystical circles; but controversy can be sometimes more helpful than abstract theory, and the tone of this new *Zeitschrift* is everywhere conciliatory. What I like best about it is the constant insistence on positive theology. Scripture, the Fathers, Catholic liturgy, the great mystics of the modern Church: these are the sources from which a group of very able contributors draw their doctrine, and in the light of this doctrine, ever old and ever new, well-worn theses of Catholic asceticism gain new life and meaning. Here is an article, for example, on the Ignatian *Fundamentum* illustrated by the Catholic doctrine of Baptism and its effects on man's soul. Another comments on the liturgical words: *In unitate Spiritus Sancti.* And almost every number contains an able and thoughtful article on some aspect of Pauline spirituality.

The historical articles are worthy of special comment, though they are perhaps too exclusively Jesuit. St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis de Sales are both studied from the mystical standpoint, but Jesuit mystics have been specially honoured. St. Ignatius, himself, St. Peter Canisius, St. Aloysius and St. Stanislaus, Fr. Lallemand and Fr. Luis de la Ponte: this is a notable gallery of mystics. And yet I have learnt more perhaps from two short articles by Fr. Alfons Kleiser, which throw a flood of light on that reaction against mysticism which characterised the policy of Fr. Mutius Vitelleschi and which was provoked by the indiscreet fervour of certain French Jesuits in the early half of the seventeenth century.

I have omitted much from my brief survey, but a word of thanks is due in conclusion to the patient worker who gives us in each succeeding number a fresh instalment of what promises to be a very full and very useful bibliography.

A. G.

THE DIVINE SONG BOOK. A Brief Induction to the Psalms. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. London: Sands. 1926. 3s. 6d. net.

THE object of the writer of this little book is to help his readers to carry out the precept of the Psalmist, "*Psallite sapienter,*" "Sing with understanding."

In order to get his readers to study the Psalms for themselves, Fr. Brown insists on the attractiveness of the study. The Psalms are poetry of a very high order, though their poetical form is obscured in all ancient and many modern translations. Furthermore, the themes of most of the Psalms are of permanent human interest. They are "just the age old themes that have stirred men's hearts from the beginning." Each Psalm, too, has as a rule a single theme running right through it. This strict unity of most of the Psalms will come as a revelation to many superficial readers.

Fr. Brown reproduces a certain number of Psalms, mostly from Canon Boylan's translation. The selection is very well made. The examples chosen illustrate excellently the literary merits of the Psalms.

The author has a very instructive chapter entitled, "Some aids to the study of the Psalms." Here he indicates the books most likely to be useful to the ordinary Catholic who is anxious to study the Psalms. He gives a brief but valuable appreciation of each book he mentions.

We think *The Divine Song Book* will achieve its object. It will attract people to the study of the Psalms and direct them how to pursue their study with profit. P. BARTLEY.

THESE SPLENDID PRIESTS. Compiled by James J. Walsh, K.C.S.G., M.D., etc. With Introduction. New York: J. H. Sears. 1926. $1.25.

IN his choice of "Splendid Priests" to set beside a series of Splendid Rulers, Explorers, Fighters, Wives and Statesmen (I give extracts from the publisher's list), Dr. Walsh has been guided mainly by a sense of the unexpected. Here's his pick: St. Benedict by Montalembert; The Travel-diaries of Friar William de Rubruquis and Friar Odoric, translated by Sir John Mandeville; Selections from Dryden's translation of the Lives of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier by Father Bouhours; Father Marquette by John Gilmary Shea; St. Vincent de Paul by Fr. Goldie, S.J.; Blessed Isaac Jogues by Fr. Devine, S.J.; Father Lobo's journey to Abyssinia, translated by Samuel Johnson; Father Juniper Serra (a missionary in California) by a Franciscan; and lastly, a characteristic touch—Dr. Walsh's own account of Father John MacEnery, an Irish pioneer in the study of palaeontology, with a tribute from H. F. Osborn, the well-known American palaeontologist, to similar pioneer-work carried through during last century by a succession of French priests. A. G.

KIRCHLICHES HANDBUCH, XIII. Band—1925/1926. Freiburg: Herder and Co. 1926. M. 12.

HERDER'S announcement of this volume includes a reminder that in 1924 the Bishops of Germany assembled in Conference at Fulda authorised every priest engaged in parochial work in Germany to buy a copy of this volume, charging same to official church expenditure. I don't wonder. If only we had a similar publication in Ireland! For this is no German Catholic Directory with its lists of names and addresses and the rest. That indispensable information is no doubt to be had in some other German publication: the *Handbuch* is more scientific in its methods. For a foreigner the last 100 pages—giving statistics concerning religious vocations, conversions, lapses, church attendance, baptisms, marriages and so on—are at once the most instructive and the easiest to understand. But there are nine sections in all, each the work of a specialist: 1. The organisation of the Catholic Church in general, giving the main facts concerning the Papal Curia (15 pp.).

2. The organisation of the Church in Germany with details of diocesan organisation (20 pp.). 3. A clear statement of the recent legal decisions, ecclesiastical and civil, in so far as they affect German Catholic interests (30 pp.). 4. A survey of the work being done by German priests and nuns in the various foreign missions (20 pp.). 5. A statement of the school-laws operative in the different German states, showing how and why Catholic interests are involved (50 pp.). 6. A very full summary of Catholic charitable and social organisations in Germany (130 pp.). 7. A comparative study of the most recent statistics concerning Catholics and Protestants in Germany: number of adherents, births, deaths, marriages, education, etc. (50 pp.). 8. Full information concerning the various religious orders and congregations at present working in Germany (50 pp.). 8. Recent Catholic statistics, with a very full and able commentary (90 pp.).

Here in Ireland we have, section for section, abundant material for a similar Irish *Catholic Guide*. Will any zealous priest or group of zealous priests attempt the work? A. G.

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Greek Text with Introduction and Notes by Dom Placid De Meester, O.S.B. English Translation by the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1926. 2s. 6d. (paper); 8s. 6d. (cloth).

LA LITURGIE BYZANTINE ET L'UNION DES EGLISES. Par l'Abbé Chevalier de Corswarem. Avignon: Aubanel Fils Ainé. 1926. 10 fr.

LA SAINTE COMMUNION DANS LA LITURGIE CATHOLIQUE. Par l'Abbé Léon Christiani. Avignon: Aubanel Fils Ainé, 1926. 10 fr.

A LITTLE MANUAL OF LITURGY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND THE LAITY. By the Most Rev. Patrick Morrisroe, Bishop of Achonry. Dublin: Gill. 1926. 10d.

LITURGICAL CATECHISM; THE CHURCH, THE MASS, THE YEAR. By Rev. M. S. MacMahon. Dublin: Gill. 1926. 2s. 6d.

THE liturgical movement interests almost equally the scholar, the teacher and the parochial clergy: its success will depend on the co-operation of all three classes. Here are five booklets (the word is exact) which illustrate very fairly the range of the movement. Dom Placid De Meester is a scholar. His edition, with French translation and notes, of the liturgy of "our Father among the Saints, John the golden-mouthed," has already seen three editions: the Benedictines of Stanbrook have done yet another good deed by giving us an English version. The two French volumes on our list belong to a new series: *La Prière et la Vie Liturgiques*. The Abbé de Corswarem's sketch of Byzantine liturgy gives the essential historical facts, but is above all an attempt to make the elaborate ceremonial of Eastern rites more intelligible to Western sympathisers. There is an interesting section on the two great devotions of the Eastern churches, devotion to Our Lady and to the True Cross, both of which have had a profound influence on Western liturgy. The Abbé Christiani explains the central position of Communion in Catholic faith and liturgy, and illustrates his thesis by quotations from the Fathers, the older liturgical texts, hymnals and antiphonaries: it is always a new joy to re-read these joyous expressions of early Catholic faith.

Dr. Morrisroe's booklet is plain and practical: a brief explanation of the liturgical year, its chief prayers and ceremonies, with useful instructions for Mass-servers. Father MacMahon is more ambitious. His Catechism, in the form of question and answer, runs to 300 pages: an introductory section on liturgy in general, then 70 pages on the church, the altar and sacred vestments, over 100 pages on the ceremonies of Holy Mass, and as many more on the liturgical year. Only an experienced teacher can criticise Fr. MacMahon's book: to the general reader it has all the appearance of a model text-book, clear, orderly, full of useful matter. I should have liked to see

illustrations, even the simplest. But Dr. Morrisroe and Father MacMahon have done the Catholic Church a great service in this country. May their work prosper. A. G.

DEL BEATO FRATE JACOPONE DA TODI. Vita e Laude continute nella "Franceschina" del P. Giacomo Oddi. Codice inedita del sec. XV. By P. Nicola Cavanna, O.F.M. Tipografia Porziuncola (Assisi). 1926. Pp. XIII. 78. Lire 10.

THIS is a critical edition of the Life and Poems of the celebrated Fra Jacopone da Todi, the author of the "Stabat Mater," but better known as the censor or satirist of Pope Boniface VIII, who caused him to be put into prison. The present work is an essay to establish that the MS. known as "Franceschina" (xv. cent.), now published for the first time, is prior in date and value to that utilised by Prof. Toblar (Halle 1878-79), hitherto regarded as the last word on the subject. Father Cavanna makes not only a good but a conclusive case. G. C.

Books also received:

ARCHER, WILLIAM ... Three Plays. Foreword by Bernard Shaw. (Constable, 10/-).

ARENDZEN, J. P. ... Whom do *you* say? A Study in the Doctrine of the Incarnation. (Sands, 6/-).

BARBEZIEUX, A. DE ... Lectures évangéliques pour le Mois de Marie. (Téqui, 10fr.)

BARKER, J. ELLIS ... Good Health and Happiness. (Murray, 7/6).

BASTIDE, PIERRE ... Pour mieux vivre. Reflexions et Conseils. (Aubanel Fils Ainé, 11fr. 50).

BERKELEY, G. F. H. How to study a Picture. (Talbot Press, 1/-).

BIARD, JOSEPH ... Instructions aux Fidèles sur le Saint Sacrifice de la Messe. (Aubanel Fils Ainé, 21fr.)

BIRD, T. E. ... A Commentary on the Psalms. Two vols. (Burns O. W., 25/-).

BLAKEMORE, FELIX ... The Coming Hour (?). (Sands, 2/6).

BOISSONNADE, P. ... Life and Work in Medieval Europe. (Kegan Paul, 16/-).

BONOR, J. ... The Tables Turned. A Lecture and Dialogue on Adam Smith and the Classical Economists. (King, 2/-).

BOURGET, PAUL ... Nos actes nous suivent, 2 vols. (Plon, 24fr.)

BOYLE, FRANCIS ... Poems of Father Arbraham Ryan. With Preface and Life of the Poet. (Talbot Press, 3/6).
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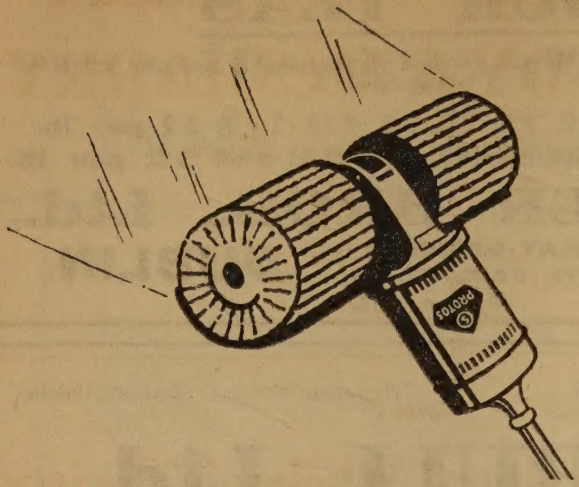

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